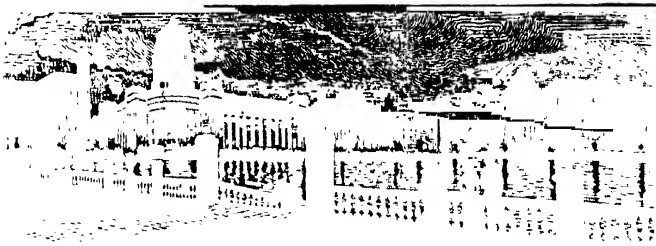
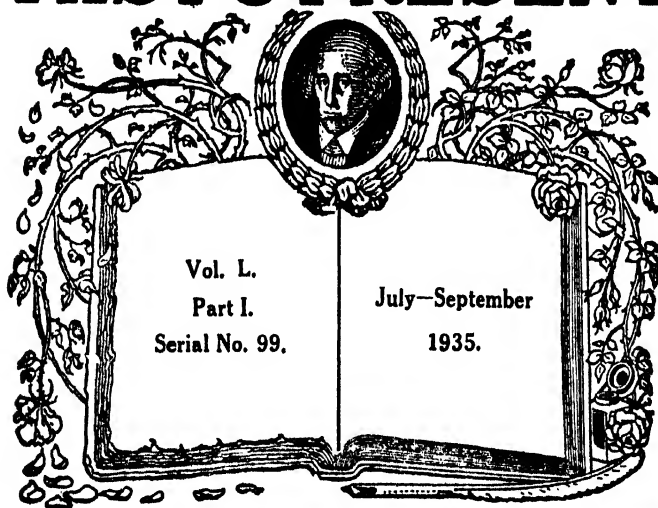


BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

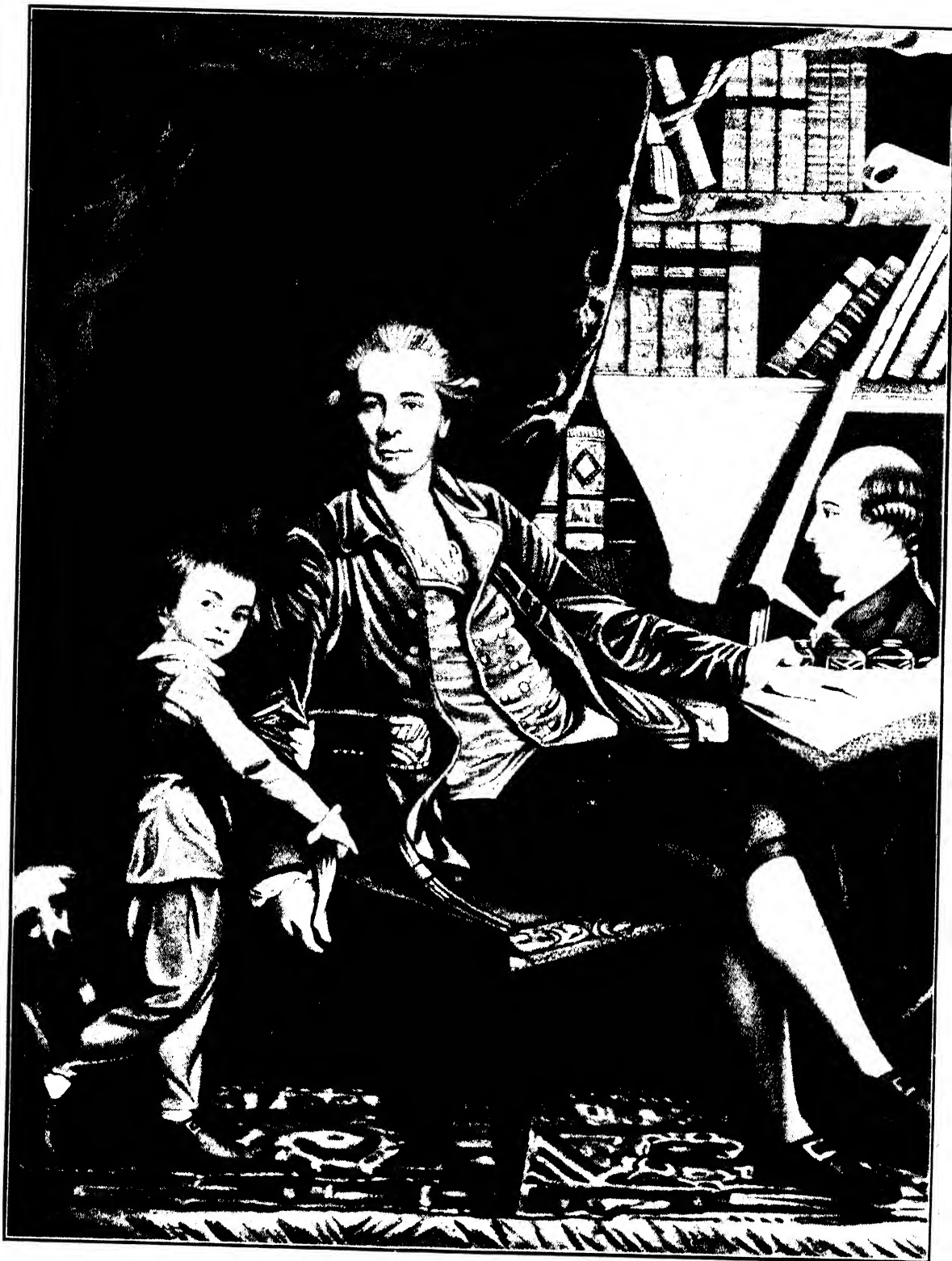
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RICHARD BARWELL AND HIS SON
By JOSHUA REYNOLDS

(From the engraving by R. B. Parks).

“Mr. Barwell of Stansted Park.”

WHEN Richard Barwell resigned the office of Member of the Supreme Council at Fort William in Bengal on March 3, 1780, and sailed for England on board the *Swallow* packet, he brought away with him, according to common report (says William Hickey) a fortune of upwards of four hundred thousand pounds sterling. After the manner of his fellow-Nabobs, he bethought himself, on arrival in his native land, of an estate in the country. Hickey was then in London. In the second volume of his *Memoirs* he tells us (p. 182) that “in January 1779 a very numerous assembly met at the theatre [in Lyon’s Range], at which a petition to Parliament was unanimously voted, praying a repeal of the Act under which the [Supreme] Court was constituted and that British subjects might in India be allowed a trial by jury.” Hickey was deputed to present the petition: and so it came about that in January 1781 he met Barwell at the opera, and was invited to go down with a party to Stansted Park, which he had just purchased, and to advise regarding the alterations which he intended to make.

Stansted Park, which is now the seat of the Earl of Bessborough, is situated above seven miles to the north west of the Cathedral City of Chichester. Sussex was not such a favourite country with the returned Anglo-Indian as Berkshire, which was known as “the English Hindoostan.” But William Frankland, the son of Henry Frankland, Governor of Fort William in 1725, had been settled at Muntham, in the parish of Washington, five miles to the north-west of Worthing, since 1765 and lived on until 1805, occupying himself with mechanical experiments: he had been Member of Council and Import Warehouse Keeper at the time of the siege and capture of Calcutta in 1756 and, after taking refuge before the surrender on a ship of which he was the part owner, had received £11,367 on the overthrow of Siraj-ud-daula. Charles Goring, who was Chief of the Committee of Revenue in 1776, was at Rowdell, in the same parish of Washington and died in 1821 at the age of 78: he is buried in the Churchyard and a Latin epitaph proclaims that he returned uncorrupted from the East (*ab oriente redux in corruptus*). A third was Ewan Law, of Horsted Place, near Little Horsted, which he bought from Richard Chase, Mayor of Madras in 1800, and patron of the Daniells: he was the uncle of the Earl of Ellenborough, the Governor-General, and was Chief of Patna in 1781 when Mrs. Hastings was left there, while her husband went up the river on his famous expedition to Benares. Lastly, there was Sir Elijah Impey at Newick which in our own days was the country home of Sir William Johnson Hicks (Viscount Brentford).

Interesting information regarding “Notable Owners of Stansted Park” was given by Admiral Chambers, C.B. in two articles which were published

in the *Sussex Country Magazine* in November and December 1933. To him we are indebted for much of what follows. The present house makes no pretence to antiquity as its predecessor was burned down in 1900.

Stansted Park was owned at the time of the Civil War by Richard Lumley, who was knighted by James the First in 1616 and was created Viscount Lumley in 1622. He took the side of the King, and Sir William Walles, the Parliamentary General, took and destroyed the then existing mansion. From the Lumleys (who had become Earls of Scarbrough), the property passed in the eighteenth century to George Montagu Dunk, third Baron and second Earl of Halifax, who had married the heiress of Sir Thomas Dunk, a wealthy clothier, and had taken his surname. His extravagance was such that when he died in 1771 at the age of fifty five, his trustees were obliged to put Stansted on the market.

It was well worth buying. Attached to the house and park were a parliamentary borough returning two members, and a couple of Church livings, of which one was worth a thousand pounds a year and the other seven hundred pounds: to say nothing of timber fit for cutting to the value of £70,000, and well stocked preserves of game. After two unsuccessful attempts to sell it was offered without reserve and Barwell became the purchaser for £90,000. "It was universally thought to be the cheapest bargain ever known," writes Hickey, "but the purchase money having, by one of the conditions, to be paid within the three months after the day of sale, and few persons having command of money sufficient to enable them to pay down so large a sum, occasioned Mr. Barwell to obtain it considerably under its real value." Here he lived until his death in 1804, with periodical visits to London, where he had a house in St. James's Square from 1782 to 1796: and here it was that he said "Bring more curricles." He made himself thoroughly unpopular by shutting up gates and closing paths through the Park, and he behaved so rudely that he was "sent to coventry" by the county and also by the Worshipful Mayor and Corporation of Chichester. Readers of Hickey's Memoirs will remember the details, and it is not necessary to repeat them.

The house is described by Hickey as

an immense pile of buildings, the greater part very old-fashioned, one wing alone, which had been erected by the late Lord Halifax, being in the modern style. It was altogether a struggling and irregular structure on the outside, by no means pleasing to the eye, but containing many noble apartments, and was richly furnished. The garden pleasure grounds and park were extensive, and could not be exceeded in natural and acquired beauties.

Barwell proceeded to spend an enormous amount of money in enlarging and re-modelling the house. The architects whom he employed included James Wyatt and he kept them busy for five years. The old wings were removed and the house encased in white brick. Two porticoes were added, and double colonnades to connect the new wings. The lay out of the grounds was entrusted "capability" Brown, and it is to his credit that he

did not interfere with the magnificent avenues which were formed in the time of the Lumley's and which are still in existence. Many "old masters" were brought to hang on the walls : and such extensive purchases of land were made that at one time the whole country side belonged to Mr. Barwell.

Upon the death of Richard Barwell in 1804 at the age of 63, his widow married a member of Parliament of the name of Mundy : and Stansted was sold for £173,000, with 1000 acres of park and 3000 acres of farms. The purchaser was a Mr. Lewis Way, a cousin of Maria Josepha Holroyd, of Sheffield Park, whose father was the friend and she herself the correspondent of Edward Gibbon. Way was a believer in the notion that the return of the Jews to Palestine, and the consequent beginning of the millennium, depended upon their conversion to Christianity : and founded a training college for them, at which Joseph Wolff the traveller and father of Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, was a student.

BARWELL'S SECOND WIFE.

Admiral Chambers quotes largely from the diaries of Mrs. Oldfield, the widow of a General of Marines who lived in the neighbourhood. From these diaries, which are preserved in the volumes of the Sussex Archaeological collections, we obtain an item of information which is denied to us by the *Dictionary of National Biography* : and that is the name of Barwell's second wife. His first wife, as we all know, was the beautiful Elizabeth Jane Sanderson, the reigning belle of Calcutta, whom he married on September 13, 1776 : but she died on November 9, 1778, leaving him with two sons, Richard, who was baptized at St. John's Church on January 13, 1778 (and died in 1800) and Edward James, who was baptized, after his mother's death, on February 8, 1779. But there were still six sons to come, who provided Bengal with the third generation of Barwells. Their mother was Catherine Coffin, the daughter of an officer of the customs at Boston (Mass.) and sister of Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin (1759-1839). Four of the sons were nominated to writerships on the Bengal establishment : James Richard (1782-1833), Edward Richard (1786-1846), Charles Richard (1788-1836) and Arthur Champion (1789-1856). A fifth, Septimus, was at Haileybury from 1809 to 1811, but did not proceed to India : and a sixth, Augustus Leycester (1802-1844) served in the Bengal Army from 1821 to 1824.

In the next generation we have the three sons of Charles Richard Barwell : Major-General Charles Arthur Barwell, C.B. (1827-1895), of the 71st Bengal Infantry, who was one of the garrison of the Lucknow Residency, and in 1875 officiated as Chief Commissioner of the Andaman Islands ; Lieut. Edward William Barwell (1829-1857), adjutant of the Haryana Light Infantry, who was killed at Hissar : and Capt. William Blunt Barwell (1830-1916) of the 18th Bengal Infantry, whose son, Capt. Arthur Ross Barwell (1866-1898) of the 1st Gurkha Rifles, was shot dead by his servants at Peshawar. Their cousins, the sons of Edward Richard Barwell, were : Edward D'Oyly Barwell (1810-1840) who was admitted

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as an advocate of the Supreme Court on October 26, 1835, and (according to Alexander's *East India Magazine*) acted as second to Frederick Osborne, another barrister, who was editor of the *Calcutta Courier*, in a duel with Joachim Hayward Stocqueler of the *Englishman*, that most pugnacious of journalists : and Lieut. Henry Montagu Barwell (1811-1837) of the 59th Bengal Infantry, who was born at Chittagong and died at Shahjahanpur. There are representatives of the family in the present generation. The Indian Army List for October 1914 contains the name of Major E. E. Barwell, of the 57th Wilde's Rifles, "primus in Europa" of the Indian regiments which took part in the Great War : and Mr. N. F. Barwell M.C. is one of the leading advocates of the Calcutta High Court.

THE PORTRAIT.

The portrait of Richard Barwell and his son, which we reproduce from the engraving by R. B. Parkes, was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds in the year after Barwell's return to Europe. Writing on January 17, 1781 to his nephew William Johnson, who had gone out to Calcutta in 1774 "under the immediate protection of Sir Robert Chambers" and who received in due course the appointment of Company's attorney, Sir Joshua mentions that he is "now drawing a whole length of Mr. Barwell and his son for Mr. Hastings : when the picture goes to India, I shall write at the same time in your favours". The picture was not, however, shipped to India : according to one of Barwell's grandsons, it was sent to Hastings at Daylesford "as an offering from my grandfather to his old chief, in remembrance of the many battles they had fought and won together in the Council Chamber at Calcutta" (*Times*, January 18, 1928). It appears to have reverted to the Barwell family after the death of Hastings in 1818, for in 1865, the year in which Parkes published his engraving, it belonged to Miss Matilda Barwell, who lived in Montpelier-crescent Brighton and died there at an advanced age in 1874. She left the picture to Sir Nugent Edward, who disposed of it privately. Lord Curzon saw it in 1905, and again in 1924, in the gallery of M. Sedelmayer, the Paris art-dealer, who was asking £8000 for it. In 1928 it was taken to New York for sale, and that is the last news of it.

The "inset" portrait is said to have been painted by Sir Joshua from a miniature of Hastings then in the possession of Barwell, which had been painted by Imhoff on board the *Duke of Grafton* Indiaman, which took Hastings and the Imhoffs out to Madras in 1769. The features are certainly those of a young man : but they bear little resemblance to those of Hastings; whose portrait by Reynolds was painted in 1768 and is well known from the engraving by Thomas Watson which was published in 1777.

Sir Joshua painted a replica of his portrait of Barwell, but without the "inset". This also was last heard of in New York. The son must be Richard junior who was born in 1777 and died in 1800 but he is rather full-grown for a child of four.

EVAN COTTON.

Diary of Samuel Hickson

1777—1785.

We have received from Mr. J. G. Brooker of Calcutta the following very interesting diary of the campaigns against Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan which we publish as received with Mr. Brooker's note.

(The original spelling in the "Diary" has been retained.)

DIARY OF SAMUEL HICKSON.

Samuel Hickson was born at Market Street near Dunstable on Aug. 28, 1755 and at an early age became responsible for carrying on his late Father's business of wool combing and worsted making. The business declined and he had to mortgage his property and eventually, partly on account of his business difficulties and partly thro' a love affair, he decided to run away. It was nearly 2 years before his first letter arrived home from India telling them where he had gone. He wrote the following narrative while in India. On his return he started business as a linen draper and straw bonnet manufacturer and did very well. He died in 1814.

The original manuscript of his Indian Diary and a number of his letters are in possession of the Hickson family still.

A copy of these was made in 1820 by W. E. Hickson Esq. proprietor and Editor for 11 years of the *Westminster Review*, and is now in the possession of Professor Hickson F.R.S. of Cambridge by whose kind permission I am enabled to offer the following to *Bengal: Past and Present*.

J. G. B.

Without giving any person the least intimation of my design, and to prevent their having any idea that I had before resolved on it; I took no clothes but what was on me, and only 4 shillings & sixpence in money, & on Jany. 5th 1778, about dusk in the evening, I bade adieu to the place of my nativity; from which I had never been absent a week in my life; fully resolved to exclude myself entirely from the knowledge of any person who had known me in my former circumstances; tho' undetermined as to what course I should take. In a dark uncomfortable night, & with an uneasy mind, I walked till about midnight I found myself in London. As the people were in bed, I knew not what to do with myself the remainder of the night. I asked a watchman if he knew any house where the people were up; he answered in the negative, but told me I might sit on the Watch box till 3 o'clock, when people would rise. I did so though almost frozen with cold. The next day I wandered through the streets without knowg. where or to what purpose. I passed another night in suspense, and the greatest uneasiness of mind. The

succeeding day, fortune cast me in the way of one of the decoyers, for the Indian Company's service.

Tho' I was not so credulous as to give any attention to the stories with which they amuse many young persons, yet I considered that this would effectually seclude me, from the knowledge of all my former acquaintance, and as there was an absolute necessity for my taking some step, for an immediate subsistence, I went with him to Mr. Hart, & engaged myself in my present situation. The next day I went on board a Gravesend Boat, with about 30 miserable half naked wretches, to be put on board the Southampton Indiaman, Capt. Lennox, then lying at Gravesend. As there was no wind, we could not reach the Ship that tide. Whilst we were waiting for the return of the tide, the waterman observing I made a more decent appearance than my associates, entered into a conversation with me in the Course of which, he said he wished I had been going on board the Shrewsbury, as he was acquainted with Capt. Coggan, and would have recommended me to his notice, which might have occasioned me better usage during the voyage, which those who are acquainted with the treatment recruits meet with known to be generally very indifferent. About midnight we went on board the Southampton. I was suffering severely with hunger and cold. I had never suffered any hardship of body till then. It was very dark, and I was entirely unacquainted with the structure of the ship. We were without any bedding: I had been without sleep a long time, and now had no place to rest myself. I thought this but a bad specimen of what I had to meet with; but had prepared my mind to buffet adversity and bore it as patiently as I could. The next day, the Waterman, (Simon Eynes, Horsely Down) came to my surprise, with an order to remove me to the Shrewsbury, which this benevolent stranger, had applied to Mr. Thos. Coggan at the India House for, and obtained. Up on his recommendation, I was exempted from all duty in the ship, but assisting the Captns Steward, & ordered to eat with his servants.

When we sailed from Portsmouth in company with the Southampton and the Nassau, the Captn ordered me to attend some gentlemen who were going passengers to Bengal, in the great cabin which was to be my employment during the voyage. By sobriety and attention I had the happiness to give them satisfaction. The beginning of Feb. we fell down the river and sailed round to Portsmouth. The 8th of March we sailed thro' the Needle in Company with the Southampton, & Nassau, as we passed by Plimouth Sound the Queen joined us, we parted Company with them all after we had been at Sea about a Fortnight, in a Gale of Wind in which the Southampton lost her main Top Mast. After we sailed from Portsmouth, we had a prosperous voyage till we approached the Line, which, after being becalmed some time, we crossed, and got into the South East Trade Wind, which continuing very near the East drove us so far to the westward that we made the coast of Brasil. We beat on and off some days, unable to clear a cape of land which stretched out a considerable way into the ocean.

One morning (having stood out to sea in the night) we discovered two large sails to Leeward of us.

They came up and spoke with us ; they came out of the harbour of Pernambuco the preceeding day.

The Commodore came on board us ; gave us an account of the coast, currents etc and advised the Captn if we were in need of any provisions, water etc. to put into Pernambuco ; which he described as a very plentiful place. The Captain followed his advice ; and next day, we came to an anchor in the most beautiful situation that even struck my eyes. It was the first of May. Not a cloud obscured the azure canopy of the heavens, the cliffs shone of a bright gold colour and reflected the rays of the sun with a beauty not to be described. Add to this the beauty of the town itself, the capital of a province of the same name situate at the bottom of a fine bay. The houses appeared remarkably white, and several lofty spires raised their heads to a great height. The town of Olinda appeared fuller view, on the top of a hill about 5 miles off, to the Northward of Pernambuco.

The ground for some distance from the shore appeared equally beautiful ; where we could see, Woods etc. and corn-fields interspersed with fine Meadows in which were cattle grazing and numerous herds ; whilst oranges, Plantains, Cocoanuts, Limes and all the beauties of the vegetable creation loaded the trees in amazing quantity. At some distance from the shore, the country gradually ascended covered with thick woods, till it terminated the sight in the highest mountains I ever beheld. We staid here a week, during which time we were treated with the greatest hospitality by the Portuguese, and plentifully furnishd with all manner of provisions etc. etc.

Some time before our arrival here, some discontented persons, of the Ship's crew, had raised a mutiny ; and even carried it so far as to concert measures to seize the Ship ; which being timely discovered, three of the principal of them were put in Irons, in order to be tried on our arrival at Madrass. But on the 8th of May, being the day we sailed from Pernambuco, the Captn gave them their Choice, either to go to Madrass and be tried, or go on shore there ; they chose to be set on shore.

He then offered any of the crew who were discontented leave to go with them, up on which three more chose to go. He gave them the Jolly boat, and four dollars each man, with a day's provision ; and they signed a paper, in which they declared, that it was by their own desire that they went on Shore, and that they had no demands on the Captn or owners of the Ship.

We were about 5 or 6 leagues from the town when they left the ship ; and the wind and current were in their favour. I make no doubt but they reached the Shore long before night. Nothing material respecting our voyage happened till our arrival at Johanna. But during that time a circumstance happened that placed me in a more conspicuous view, in the eyes of the gentlemen on board than before. To maintain the order of time I shall here relate it. One night going into the great cabin, while the gentlemen were in bed, Mr. White one of the passengers for Bengal directed his discourse to me and amongst other particulars asked me what could induce me to enter as a Soldier, says he "tis strange 'tis passing strange".

I replied "'tis pitiful 'tis wondrous pitiful". He seemed surprised at my replying so readily, and repeated the question I replied "but that I am forbid to tell the secrets of my prison house, I could a tale unfold".

"Very poetical indeed" I am said he. I desire you to bring me some stanza in the morning, for I admire poetry. "Upon what subject Sir" said I. Chose your own subject, or write on sleep if you will said he. "Very well Sir, I'll bring you a Pendaric Ode to sleep." "Oh O, a Pendaric ode, well don't forget" said he. I went out of the cabin and thought no more of it. The freedom which these gentlemen used me with authorized my freedom of reply, they always spoke very familiarly to me. However, the next day Mr. White desired the Ode I promised him. I begg'd his excuse for my freedom, and assured him that I was far from being capable of anything of the kind.

He said he would admit no excuse, for as I had mentioned it myself I should attempt something let it be ever so indifferent. He repeated his request almost every time he saw me, for almost a fortnight ; always jocularly calling me the Goddess of Pindaric. Tho' I had recd no education yet the natural turn of my inclination always led me to delight in those parts of literature which were within my reach. I had particularly delighted in history, geography ; and the first principles of Mathematical knowledge, of which I had without any instruction, except from books acquired sufficient knowledge in the element of Geometry, Trigonometry, etc. to be able to do every thing required in the measuring of timber, artificer's work, the surveying of land etc. and tho' Poetry had been no part of my study, yet having read a good deal, I thought I was at least capable of performing as well as he could expect from a person in my station, whom he looked on as entirely illiterate. Therefore after many repeated requests from Mr. White, I one day began the following trifle which I completed, transcribed, and presented to him before night, so that it however puerile was not the work of much time.

(Here follows the poem which is omitted).

I heard no mention of it for two or three days after I had presented it. At length Mr. Baugh (one of the Bengal passengers) came to me and told me that Mr. Coles had read and was greatly pleased with it, but that he thought it impossible it should be the work of a person who had no education, therefore, had forbore to read it publicly, as it would do me more injury than credit if it were found that I had attempted to impose some other person's production on them as my own which he suspected. However to prove the truth he had sent me one of the volumes of Rosseau's Eloisa, with order to versify one of the letters descriptive of the vintage in France.

This I attempted, but as I have since lost all my papers ; I am unable to write it from memory as I have done the preceeding. On the receipt of it Mr. Coles sent me the following letter.

(letter omitted. It expresses appreciation of the writer's powers as a poet and offers to recommend him to influential friends in India.)

Such a mark of approbation and condescension from a person in an elevated sphere in life surprised me as it was accompanied with assurances

that if I wanted necessaries of any kind during the voyage to inform his servant and I should be instantly supplied.

June the 13th we imagined the long wished for Island of Johanna appeared in sight ; we bore directly for it ; it however proved to be Mohilla. A spot resembling Saddle Island deceived our navigators we wasted almost round it before they were certain of their mistake ; we then discovered the real Island of Johanna. It blew a strong breeze and very favourable for us. We were close abreast of Saddle Island about 4 O'clock in the afternoon and trusting too much to the boldness of the shore ; we struck fast on the rocks between Saddle Island and Johanna. We immediately put our sails aback, as we were close hauled on the wind ; and as she continued up right and made no water, we were under no immediate apprehension of danger, imagining that if the tide were rising she would soon float again. But unhappily the tide was at the highest and when it sunk the Ship continued sinking with it abaft, still sticking fast in her foreparts. In the night the beams in the forehold broke, she leaked at a great pace and we were apprehensive of her going to pieces. The Ladies and Gentlemen passengers quitted her in great haste and confusion, and went on shore in the boat. With continual pumping we could but just keep the water from gaining on us.

However when the tide rose she righted again.

We had thrown our quarter deck Guns overboard in the night : and now we carried anchors out astern, and exerted every effort to get her off, but in vain ; the tide fell and she stuck fast. The rocks rear'd their heads above the surface of the water, and the Johannese even came off from the shore with cocoanuts on their heads. Every one dispaired of her getting off ; and we were unloading her with all expedition, when the next tide lifted her off, and we came safely to an anchor, opposite the watering place, when the Nassau joined us again having parted with the Southampton off the cape of Good Hope. Most of the English Ships that touch here give some Powder and Ball and some old Musquets ; with these (after the season for the English Ships touching there is over) they make war on the neighbouring Islands of Mohilla, Commora and Mayotta : from thence they bring off cattle etc. to supply our Ships another season. The assistance they receive from us in supplying them with Edge tools, Iron work etc. enables them to build large boats which they call men of war, and by means of which they reign Lords over the three neighbouring Islands and sometimes make trading voyages to coast africa. The inhabitants saw us strike and an express was immediately sent to acquaint his Johannish Majesty of our situation, who was graciously pleased to cause a proclamation to be issued from the tower of the Mosque (i.e. Church.) the natives being Mahometans to command all his Men of War etc. to go off to the assistance of his brother Georgie's Ship in distress, and to denounce instant death as the punishment to any of his subjects who should be detected in purloining any thing ; this had such an effect that tho' we were unloading the Ship and sending the goods on shore in the night which were landed at different parts of the beach and entirely exposed, and the natives are as notorious thieves as ever existed, yet we missed not the

least article. Whilst the Ship was on the rock, we asked some of the Natives what must become of us if she went to pieces ; they replied Johanna man, English man, all one Brother, Come Ship break you stay here, by and by another ship come you go to Madrass. Having stuck fast about 24 hours we stai'd till the 26th June to take in water and provisions and examine the condition of the Ship, which received less damage than we expected, when we set sail for Madrass, Mr. Coles desired me to attempt a poem descriptive of our situation on the rocks, which I did, beginning it with our departure from England, and following the Ship thro' the voyage ; but I lost that with the rest of my papers ; which however as affairs since turned out, are of no consequence.

During the remainder of our voyage I received repeated promises, that on my arrival in Bengal they would procure my discharge, and get me some Civil employment : or if I chose the Military Life, they would take such methods to recommend me as should make me satisfied with my situation.

Mr. Palmer one of the Senior Merchants of Bencoolen, told me, if there were a possibility of procuring my discharge, and I chose to go with him, he should be very glad to take me to Bencoolen. Aug 26th we came to an anchor at Madrass road, when I soon experienced the propriety of Mr. Coles's advice not to exult too soon. It seemed as if fortune had thrown this prospect of good fortune in my way, only to tantalize me ; for to our great surprise, we found the Company engaged in a french war ; and an English army laying seige to Pondicherry. All the Bengal recruits were ordered to land immediately. Soon after our arrival Mr. Coles told me, that he had endeavoured to procure my discharge, but could not ; as I was on the Bengall establishment, whither I should be sent as soon as Pondicherry was taken. That however he had wrote to Coll Braithwaite, with whom he was intimately acquainted, and strongly recommended me to his notice. I recd upwards of 30 Pagodas from the gentleman who came passengers in the Ship. Mr. Baugh and Mr. White expressed great dissatisfaction at my being left behind them, but told me they would not forget when I arrived at Bengall ; and desired me to enquire for them immediately on my arrival there. As there was a sloop to sail Bencoolen shortly. Mr. Coles proceeded no farther in the Ship. Whilst he waited for the Sloop's sailing he went to Camp to see Coll Braithwaite ; on his return he told me, that he had mention'd me again to the Coll who said as I belonged to Bengall he could not be of any service to me ; but if he returned to Madrass during my stay there, he would be a friend to me as long as I remained on the coasts. Oct 8th I was draughted into a detachment for camp. I embarked on board the Companies armed Ship the Morning Star and arrived the next day in General Munro's camp befor Pondicherry. The place surrenderd the 18th and the Bengal troops were all orderd to proceed immediately to Madrass. As I now thought myself sure of going to Bengall, I thought it would be giving Coll. Braithwaite unnecessary trouble to introduce myself to him, as Mr. Coles had desired me to do the first opportunity. We embarked on board the boats at Pondicherry to go on board the Bessborough Indiaman. I had the Flux very bad. The duty here was very hard and the weather wet, which threw most

of the Recruits who were unaccustomed to this Country living, into the Bloody Flux. It was 8 O'clock at night when we got into the boats. I was so weak that I was unable to take care of my clothes ; most of which however I had left with the washerman at camp, for we came away so suddenly we could not go after them. My Fire lock and Knapsack lay in the salt water at the bottom of the boat in which we were six hours before we reached the Ship. Here all my papers by being damaged by the salt water, and my illness rendering me incapable of taking care of them, were entirely lost. All that I regretted the loss of was of 2 or 3 letters, which I had received from different persons. After beating a week at sea, endeavouring to reach Madrass, all proved ineffectual ; for instead of making way to the northward we were drove opposite Cuddalore, where we were again set on shore.

Some time afterwards we were draughted into the different corps on this establishment. All my hopes from my friends at Bengal were now entirely vanishd. I was draughted into the 2nd Battalion 1st. regiment, lying at Pondicherry which I joined the beginning of December. Ever since my arrival in India, I have been particularly attentive to put it out of the power of any one to accuse me either of disobedience of orders, Irregularity, or neglect to duty ; and to conform myself to the strictest rules of Military discipline. I had succeeded so far as never to have in any one instance, the least imputation, to the prejudice of my character, alledgd against me ; till an unhappy unforeseen accident brought me a prisoner where I now remain.

It was briefly and impartially as follows.

The 4th inst. (Jany. 1779) I recd a pagoda from the sergeant as payment for myself and another man (Robindon). I went as far as the Barrack door to see if I could get it changed : at that instant the Drill Sergeant calling "fall in for drill" I immediately turned round to Robindon, told him I must go to drill, and bid him get the Pagoda changed, and give me my share when I returned. At my return Robindon came to me and told me to my great surprise that the Pagoda was a bad one, and had been broke on his offering it in the Bazar ; and that he had been to the Captain who advanced the week's pay who refused to be at the loss of it, and askd me as I received it of the Serjeant, to go with me as I received it of the Serjeant to go with him, and acquaint the Colonel of it. I complied without the least hesitation. On our relation the story, the Coll said the Company had no bad money, and that one of us must have exchanged the Pagoda we recd from the Serjeant, and offered a bad one of our own. He ordered us to come again in the morning. We did so, when he askd Robinson if the pagoda that was broke were the identical Pagoda he recd from me. Upon his answering in the affirmative, he ordered me to be committed to prison for offerring bad money, contrary to genl orders. These orders I was then ignorant of, having never heard of a bad pagoda since my being in India tho' since my confinement I have read the orders refered to in the orderly book and heard of a great many instances of people living by bad money. I have now sufficient leisure to look back and take a retrospective view of past occurrences, and see how in a short time I have toss'd about, the sport of fickle fortune, who seems to have opened prospects of success to view, only to make the reverses

more bitter. But a few months past and I thought myself fixd on my native spot for life, without the least prospect or apprehensions of a removal. A sudden reverse banish'd me from home into a mean station and amongst strangers.

Here the unexpected friendship I met with seem'd to open a bright gleam of hope, and gave me some reason to expect that I should be distinguished from the generality of persons in my station. My landing on this coast disconcerted all my hopes, and I once more sunk entirely from the distinction I had met with. Yet hitherto in whatever station of life my honesty had been unimpeachd and I submitted to my lot without repining etc. etc. I remained in the Guard 12 days, when seing no prospect of being released or brought to trial, I wrote to Mr. Jas Innes adjutant of the regiment and sent him the foregoing account of myself, and desired that he would if he were convinced of my innocence intercede, either for my enlargement, or a court martial.

He applied immediately to Coll Baillie, and represented my case in such a light, that I was released the next day ; and the day after, Jany. 18th, I was removed from the Grenadier Company in which I then was to the Camp, of which Mr. Innes had the command and appointed Corporal in the adjutants Company.

August 19th I set out from Pondicherry for Madrass, with the non-effective of the regiment who were going to pass the committee. I arrived there the 28th Augt. During our stay for the Committee's examining the men, the Ganges, and General Barker, India men, arrived from England, when I was ordered to stay to go up with the recruits belonging to our regiment.

I went on board the Nancy Ketch the 20th October and arrived at Pondicherry the next day. Jan 4 1780 the Company I belonged to was ordered to join the 1st Battn 2nd regiment, and to embark with one company of artillery, and the 8th Battn of sepoys, to join the army under General Goddard at Surat. Dec 21. 1779 I went on guard and carelessly left my trunk unlocked and the next morning when I came off guard all my money and most valuable things were gone and I never could get any information of them. Since, tho' as I had some guineas, my Adjutant immediately applied to the Commanding Officer of the Garrison who gave strict orders to all money changers, (for Money changing is a trade here) to stop any person who might offer Europe Money.

Jany. 11th we embarked on board the Horsendon, an old Indiaman. There were Seven Battalion Companys, part of the grenadiers Company, and a campt of artillery ; which with officers, Cookboys, Dubashes, and the Ship's Compy made near 700 men on board. We had very wet weather, and being so many men on board made it very disagreeable.

Off the island of Ceylon, our convoy (the Seahorse and Morning Star) chased a vessel which proved the Hawke Indiaman, from England bound to Bombay.

We put two of our Companies on board her, which gave us a little more room.

During the bad weather off the Island Ceylon, our Ship which was leaky when we left Pondicherry sprung a fresh leak which obliged us to set our Chain pumps to work ; and we had very hard work to keep her free the remainder of the voyage.

After we got the length of Cape Comorin we had a week's calm. Here we fell in with the Resolution, Indiaman, from England to Bombay. We put into Bencoate, and got fresh provisions, and water ; and passd Bombay the 17th Feby and arrived in Surat roads the 21st. I landed the 23rd and found the rest encamped under Surat Walls, General Goddard being up the Country with the Army. We encamped in an Indigo field under the Fortwalls where we lay till the 22nd March when we marched to the Northward to meet the General who was returning with the Army from the Siege of Amadabad, a very large city in the Guzerat Country, which was taken by storm the 15th of Feby. Surat is a very plentiful place particularly for Wheat and Garden Stuff and the best Beef I ever saw since I left England. We lay close under the Walls of Surat till the 22nd of March, When the detachment went up the River in boats, and encamped on the North side of the River at a place called Nerrou about 6 miles from Surat. The village was abandoned by the Inhabitants, the Marrattas having been making excursions about the country.

March 24th lay on the same ground. This day the village was set on fire and reduced to ashes. Some of the detachment were suspected of having fired it ; but it was not proved against them. 25th the detachment marched at 3 O'clock.

A party of horse formed the advance guard : different parties of Bengal and Bombay sepoy's marched on the flanks, and in the rear, with orders to retire to the line in case they saw any bodies of the enemy superior to themselves.

Marched about 15 miles thro' a barren country, some few cotton fields the only cultivated ground we saw. The Earth exceeding dry, and full of large openings occasioned by the draught.

Came to the ground about 10 o'clock, encampd on the North side of the river Kim. A large fire during the night in front of the encampment supposed to be a village on fire about 2 or 3 miles distant. 26th The Assemblée beat. At one O'clock marchd in the same order as before. The face of the country much the same : no appearance of any inhabitants till we reached Osbaseen or Okryseer about 9 O'clock, when the country show'd a more agreeable prospect, the town being inhabited and the ground cultivated round it. We primed and loaded before we marched off in the morning, but hitherto saw no appearance of the enemy. Encamped with our front to a large Palmyre tope and our rear to the town. 27th general beat at 4 O'clock. Assemblée at 5. Marched about 3 miles ; and encamped soon after Sunrise on the South Bank of the river (Narbudda) just opposite to Broche which stands on the North Bank.

The river is about half a mile wide.

The country between Broche and Surat is very flat, there being no eminence in all that distance the roads exceedingly dusty.

28th lying on the same ground. 29th the artillery and Sepoys marched off at 5 O'clock to the ferry at Jamnesseer ; about 4 miles up the river 31 crossed the river and encamped on the North Bank, about a mile to the Eastward of Broche. Lay on this ground till the 10th April. April 10th we marchd from Broach where General Wedderburn lies burried, he being killed at the Storm of this place 8 or 9 years ago. Marchd at one O'clock in the morning. Came to the ground about one O'clock. Lay in a Mango Tope, did not pitch our tents. A village called Tunkariah near. This days march about 14 miles. 11th Marched about 4 O'clock. Came to the ground about ten, about 16 miles march.

A Cookboy in the rear was shot in the arm with an arrow. An alarm in the night caused the Line to fall in, but we saw no enemy. Name of the place Oseend. 12th Marched off at 7 O'clock in the evening. Came to Brodorah at Sun rise, the night's march about 24 miles.

Another boy was shot thro' the thigh by an arrow and wounded in the breast by another. Two Battalions of Bengal sepoys from the General's Camp from about 3 O'clock until daylight, when we marchd into the General's Camp. 14th all the road from Broach very dry and dusty ; and the earth full of amazing large crevices which made the marching very bad. The 16th the Enemy attacked our Foraging party during the night and carried off a considerable number of Camels, Bullocks etc. Our camp was on a large open plain near the village of Camloul which the Enemy burnt before the Army took post on the ground. A large rock about 14 miles in front of the Encampment. The Enemy lay about two miles in front on ground very full of trees and bushes. The 19th The army was marched at daybreak, and advanced towards the Enemy's Camp.

They had just left their ground when we came up with it, their Cooking fires being alight.

Our advanced guard kept often firing their small arms on some straggling parties of the Enemy.

About 7 O'clock they appeared on our right flank about half a mile distance. We fired 2 Guns at them and threw some rockets : they returned some Rockets at us without hurting us, and then made off. Soon after they showed themselves amongst the Wood on our left flank. We formed a line and began firing our artillery : soon after they disappeared.

They appeared again and we again formed ; but a few shots from our artillery made them retire.

We came to our ground on the Banks of the Nullah about 9 O'clock having marched about 7 miles. We found a man and horse of the Enemy's kill'd on the ground, by our shot, whom they had not time to carry off. They kept throwing rockets, and we firing our artillery for some time after we halted. After the front of the Army came to the ground the Enemy wheel'd to the rear ; and the Company of Madrass Artillery which was in

the rear kept a very smart fire on them, and kill'd a considerable number without receiving any hurt. The 22nd we heard a very hot fire at some distance on the left of our encampment: the Enemy having attacked our foraging party; which not coming in as soon as expected, a detachment consisting of 2 European Battns. 3 Battns of Sepoys with artillery and 14, 6 and 20 Pounders, with a regiment of Cavalry, marched off about 8 O'clock at night as silent as possible. About midnight a letter was brought to the General acquainting him that the foraging party had defeated that party of the Enemy which attacked them, and killed 2 or 300 of them with the loss of 6 Sepoys kill'd and about 20 wounded. The Enemy were computed at 6000, the foraging party was composed of two Battns of Sepoys.

We marched to the ground that we came from before, near the village of Kamloule. We came there about 5 O'clock; the Enemy had just left it, we lay on the ground till day-light, when we marched back to our encampment.

24th. The army marched off at Sunrise. We marchd back to Kamloule when the Enemy's horse appeared on our flank; we halted, and got some Guns into the ruins of the village from which they fired pretty smartly, and as the Enemy were in no order the long six pounders did considerable mischief. We encamped about a mile from the ground we occupied before, still firing. We lay on the ground till the 3rd May: during which time 3 men, Everit, Ratford and Hart deserted. Hart was taken by the Horse Picquet and put in Irons in the Quarter guard, but he slid his Irons, and got clear off in the middle of the day.

The 3rd May marched off at Sun rise: encampd about 10 O'clock about 2 miles from Broderal.

This morning 2 of the Artillery (Jamison and Caen) deserted in the afternoon. In the afternoon Wm. Mattrass was taken up by the outsentinel of the camp and the next day May 4th about noon, he was hang'd in a Mango tree for desertion, about 200 yds in front of the line. This morning some Camels and Bullocks were carried off from the rear of the Camp by the Enemy.

During our stay at Kamloule provisions exceeding dear, and forage very scarce.

May 7th this afternoon Sergt Grigg and myself were taken ill, I believe occasion'd by the extreme heat of the weather. At midnight the Bombay troops, consisting of one Company of Artillery, 2 Grenadier and 2 Battns Company's of Infantry and 2 Battns of sepoys marchd under the command of Coll Hartley for Bombay. May 8th at day break the Army marched: came to the ground on the banks of the Dadanullah about 10 O'clock.

I was extremely ill and scarce to reach the ground. Serjt Griggs was taken delirious, soon after we reached the ground, and died in half an hour after. The winds from Noon till 4 O'clock in the afternoon, very hot for some days; people falling sick in great numbers. May 9th the Army marchd at day break, left 3 Battalions of Bengal Sepoys on the ground to Canton in the Guzerat Country. Marchd an easy march of about 8 miles; saw great

plenty of Hares, Partridges, Peacocks, and Monkeys, on the line of march. We used to catch a good many Hares on the March, for if once they started, it was next to an impossibility for them to escape ; there being so many Thousands of people covering the ground all around them.

We used to shoot plenty of Peacocks which are pretty good eating ; the Monkies are very large, we have never a dog in the army able to hold one of them if he seized it. 2 or 300 of them would get into a cluster of trees near the road, where whilst our drums were beating, they would keep such a continual dancing, jumping, from the tops of trees, then catching by the lower most boughs and running up again and so on, that if 50 men had been in each tree shaking it they could not have kept it in such continual agitation but the instant the Drums left off beating they stopt.

Place of encampment Kerrwan or Sherinar, a village deserted by the people ; plenty of Bullocks and Wheat in the village. May 10th marched off at 8 O'clock at night back to the banks of the Dudanullah ; the Maharattas having surrounded the three Battalions we left there. Lay under some Mango trees all day ; our baggage being ordered to halt in the rear, and did not come up till Sun set the 11th. 12th I was appointed Serjeant in the room of Serjeant Griggs. The 3 Battns of Sepoys joind the Army again. Capt. Durand's baggage missd the road the 11th instant, and fell into the Enemy's hands, and one European who was with it was supposed to be cut in pieces, his name was J. Lewis.

14th Marchd off at daylight ; and returned to our old ground at Kirwan. 15th one division of the Army, composed of the European Battn, both parks of artillery, the 5th & 17th Battns of Sepoys marched off at 11 o'clock at night.

16th the remainder of the Army marched off at 2 o'clock in the morning came to Bowapiere, on the bank of the Narbuddah about 7 o'clock in the morning. 17th the 7th Batn of Sepoys ; a regiment of Cavalry, and the Candahar horse, marchd at 8 o'clock at night and crossd the Narbuddah under the command of Lieutt Welsh. The 18th, the 1st & 5 Battns of Sepoys, with two twelve Pounders, and some Golindawy artillery, marchd in the afternoon. The season now grew very unhealthy and people died dayly occasioned chiefly by the heat of the weather, the winds blowing so extreemly hot that the most scorching heat of the Sun is more tolerable. The birds are frequently seen to fall out of the air stone dead from the hot gusts.

The 29th the first Battn joined the Army : the 5th rejoind it 3 days before. This detachment surprised a party of the Enemy's Camp, the 22nd in the morning at daybreak, and took a great quantity of grain etc. and made the Enemy fly in the utmost confusion. During our stay on the ground I received information that I was appointed Serjeant in the 17th Carnatic Battn of Sepoys the day after I embarked for Surat from Pondicherry vizt the 12th Jany. Sickness began to rage terribly in the Army : during our stay here we buried four Commissiond Officers, and 8 or 10 non Commissiond & privates. Corporal Warral died the 21st & Mr. Rae the 23rd.

We lay in a fine Tope close on the banks of the Narbuddah, the water of which was very clear and the stream exceeding rapid.

The ground was terribly infested with Scorpions, Centipedes, and other venomous creatures. The good water of the Nerbuddah we found exceeding pleasant after lying so long in the Nullah, which is only the bed of the river at this season, we being forced to dig wells for all the water, we got out of it, which was very bad. The 29th Lieutt Jenkins died. May 31st the European Artillery & Battn with the 5 Battns of Sepoys, crossed the river at a ford knee deep in the evening, and encamped on the South Bank, under the command of Coll Brown. June 1st. the detachment marched.

General beat at one O'clock ; Assemblée at two. Marchd about 15 miles thro' a wild uncultivated country, overgrown with shrubs & bushes : a range of hills a few miles to the Eastward ; encamped about 7 O'clock on the bank of a fine rivulet of clear water. This day John Dunn was missing and could hear no account of him. Pay-master died. June 2nd marched at 4 O'clock about 8 or 9 miles and encamped at Rannyhoie on the South bank of the Nerbuddah. 3rd marchd at 3 O'clock 10 or 11 miles : encamped at Oklyseer about 7 or 8 O'clock. 4th Dunn join'd this morning having lost his road, and been marching without provisions till the 3rd when he reached Broach.

Marched about 2 O'clock : reached the South Bank of the Kim, when we encampd about 8 O'clock, after 18 miles march. June 5th marched at 3 O'clock : encamped on the South Bank of Surat river (the Lappey) about 7.

6th Movd about 2 miles down the bank of the river. The remaining detachments of the Army came into the Cantonments within a few days. The detachment which marched from Bowapierre, under the command of Lieutt Welsh, attacked a considerable party of the Enemy to the Southward of Surat, in their camp at day break, & entirely defeated them. Took 2 pieces of cannon & a great number of Horses, Camels, Grain, etc. etc.

June 19th the 8th Battn of Madrass sepoy marchd into Cantonments. They landed at Surat after we marched to join the General, and had been distributed thro' the Country for the protection of the villages. June 21st moved from the tents into Bengalos built for us to Canton in; the rains coming on very heavy. By the latter end of July the violence of the rains abated, after which we had frequent showers, with intervals of fine weather. Aug. 18 Genl Goddard embarkd for Bombay, Coll Parker took the Chief Command during his absence. Sept 16th the General being returned from Bombay, sent orders from the Swalley point, for the Madrass European Battns artillery and sepoy battns to march immediately down the river side, and embark on board vessels lying in the roads, for their reception. The march was delayed till the 20th, when the orders for the Sepoys Battalions embarking were countermanded. Sept 26 the Artillery & Battns (except a Pioneer Company, which was formed and left behind, under the command of Captn McLeod) embarked in boats at the Cantonments, and fell down the river. Anchored near the mouth of the river waiting for the tide, and the 27th in the morning, went on board the Revenge and Bombay Grab. Waited for the Small craft which carried the Camp equipage, Stores etc. till the 29th in the afternoon when near 50 sail coming out of the river we took them under convoy and set sail. Oct 1st in the

afternoon, anchored off Basseen. 5th in the forenoon embarked near Derrawa, the northernmost point of Salset Island.

The Battery at Derrawa point is about 2 miles from Basseen: we encamped in a small bay formed by Derrawa point, and another rock which projected into the sea. Oct 21 the sick who were left in Cantonments arrived in boats. 27th A Battn of Sepoys joined us from Bombay. 28th a company of European Artillery joined us from Bombay with Coll Degan and Lieutt Nelson. Nov. 3 about 4 O'clock in the afternoon, a boat lay close in shore in front of the Encampment by some accident blew up: there were between 3 and 400 barrels of Gunpowder on board: every person on board perished; vizt 2 Europeans, 3 Sepoys, about 30 Lascars and the boat men; in all 45 persons. Nov. 13 General Goddard arrived before Basseen with the remainder of the Army. The Marrattas abandoned all their outposts, and burnt the village adjacent to the Fort, on the approach of the Army.

The same evening our detachments embarked from Salset Island, at 8 O'clock and landed in the General's Camp about one in the morning of the 14th.

Our encampment was about 3 miles North of Basseen, on the sea coast. 23rd in the Evening a working party of 100 Europeans, 200 Lascars, 200 Colies, 200 Billdars, 200 Madrass & 200 Bombay sepoy, began a battery about 800 yards North west of the Fort. The Enemy did not discover them till Morning, so that they worked all night unmolested. At daylight in the Morning the Enemy began to fire, and continued by intervals all day, by which, one of the European Pioneers (Booth) had his leg shattered in such a way as obliged it to be cut off immediately. One sepoy was slightly wounded: but as most of the shot went too high they did no damage to the Battery. 24th in the evening a working party of 150 Europeans, 150 Madrass and 150 Bombay sepoy went down. We worked about 2 hours before the Enemy fired a shot; when they fired 22 Shott in less than a minute; but did no further damage than wounding One Sepoy, one European who was at work on the Marlins and going to jump into the Battery when they began firing, and wounded him in the thigh. They continued firing at intervals all night but without doing any further damage. 25th 50 Europeans, 100 Madrass & 100 Bombay Sepoy formed the working party; the Enemy gave them no further Molestation than by throwing 2 Shells which did no damage. 26th 50 Europeans, 150 Madrass & 150 Bombay sepoy formed the working party.

We were pulling some Old Houses down and levelling the ground in front of the Battery, in the full rake of the Shott from the Fort, but they never fired a Shot till we had done. After we had got into the Battery they fired several shot, and threw 2 shells, one of which burst in the air and the other not at all, no damage done.

27th no Europeans went down, the Sepoys, Lascars, etc. were employed in getting everything ready to open the Battery. 28th at Sunrise the Battery (consisting of 4 double fortified 12 pounds, 2, 18 pounds and 6 13 Inch Mortars) were opened. They fired very hot from the Fort all day, but did no damage; tho' their Shott in general were well levelled. In the Evening 50

Europeans, and all the Billdars and Lascars in the Lines, went down on a working party. The Enemy never threw a Shott all night ; tho' our people threw several Shells into the Fort. Our Shells set fire to some houses in the Fort which burnt most part of the night. 29th in the morning, one of the Bombay Artillery was dangerously wounded, which was all the damage done during the day, tho' the Enemy kept up a smart fire. At night 25 Europeans went down to repair the Embrasures, which were much damag'd by our own firing ; the Enemy never fir'd all night. 30th in the morning, a European Drummer belonging to the Pioneers, was kill'd outright by a Cannon Shot.

A very hot and incissant fire was maintained during the whole day, by both parties, but no further damage received. At night 100 Europeans, 200 Bombay, & 100 Madras Sepoys, 100 Lascars, & 300 Billdars and Coolies went down as a Working party. We broke fresh ground about 100 yds. to the left of the Battery, and ran an approach of about 50 yds in length almost due South, and another from the end of it East, without the Enemy firing a single shot ; tho' we kept firing Shells every half hour, and the lightness of the night and the small distance we were from the Fort, made it impossible but they must have discovered us had they looked out. Dec. 1 this morning the Enemy fir'd very hot at our new works ; one Billdar was kill'd, a 2nd lost his leg, a 3rd his arm, and a 4th was slightly wounded by one Shot. In the afternoon Jonson deserted off the Quarter Guard and got into the Fort, in sight of the people in the Battery. The same number for a Working party as last night : employd in deepening and widening the Approaches, the Enemy fir'd a good deal in the night, but did no damage. 3rd The same Working party, with the addition of the 6th Bengal Battn.

The Cavalry were employed in erecting a Battery in a Tope, some distance to the left of the approaches under the immediate direction of the General. 4th 50 Europeans, 100 Carnatic, 200 Bombay Sepoys, 300 Billdars Lascars and Coolies form'd the Working party ; employed in completing the Banquet and Parapet, and laying the platforms in the Mortar Battery : the Enemy fir'd but little, and did no damage. 5th a little before sunrise the Battery built by the Cavalry, call'd the Devils Battery, consisting of 4 24 Pounders began to play, a very hot fire was likewise kept by the 6 guns Battery.

The fire from the Fort decreased considerably, tho' their guns were very well laid. This morning a Bombay Artillery man was a wounded in the leg in the 6 Gun Battery. The Enemy never discoverd the Devil's Battery till it began to play on them : Lieutt Sir J. Gordon was wounded, and his leg cut off.

In the eveg they began to play from 6 10 inch Mortars, & 14 Cohorns, and Royals, in the New Battery. This evening 200 Europeans, 1000 Lascars, sepoy etc. began a new Battery on the left of the Caratell : the Enemy fir'd but little and did no damage. 6th Europeans 200, and 500 Sepoys etc. form'd the working party ; the Enemy fir'd till about midnight pretty smartly and the Shells were very well directed, but did no damage, 7th the fire from our Batteries was very hot, and but little from the Fort. In the evening 100 Europeans and 500 Sepoys etc. form'd the working party. About half an

hour after Sunset one of our Shells blew up a magazine in the Fort. No damage done all night except by one Shot which raked the avenue that leads to the trenches and kill'd 2 Sepoys.

8th no Europeans went down, the Pioneers and artificers were employed laying the platforms and mounting the Guns. 9th at Sunrise the Battery of 7 24's and two 32 Pounders was opened, and maintained a very hot and incessant fire all day. 10th 200 Europeans were employed making facines. The Battery play'd very hot all day ; and the Mortars and Cohorns threw a vast number of Shells and Carcases. This day the wall began to fall down a great pace : the fire from the Fort was almost silenced ; they had but three Guns which they continued to work. 11th at one O'clock in the morning a flag of truce came out of the Fort, and the firing ceased ; till about 7 O'clock when the Fort not agreeing to the terms proposed by the General our Battery open'd again, and fir'd very hot about half an hour when they came out again. The General allowed them till noon to consider ; at which time the Signal agreed on for surrendering was hoisted, and about 2 O'clock they began to march out, and our Grenadiers took possession. Jonson the deserter was delivered up and put in Irons. 12th all the Grenadiers of the Army, with the Regiment of Cavalry, and the Candahars march'd and joined Coll Hartley, who defended a pass thro' the Mountains, during the Seige, with a detachment of Bombay troops : but the Maratta's coming down in great numbers he was forced to retreat, tho' with very little loss, till this detachment join'd him, soon after which the Enemy withdrew. Decr 16 Sir John Gordon died, his body was interr'd in Basseen. Dec 26th the Worcester Man of War Capt'n Tabbat, and the Coventry Frigate Capt'n Mittchel arrived off Basseen 29 the 1st Batt'n of Bengal Sepoys march'd and join'd Coll Hartley's attachment at Vesseraby and the Corps of Pioneers with the 5th 6th & 7 Bengal Battalions and Company of Bombay artillery were ordered for the attack of Arnob, a fort situated on a bank in the Sea, about 10 or 12 miles to the Northward of Basseen.

Jan'y 1. 1781 our troops began firing at Arnole, from a Battery built on Basseen Island about 14 or 1500 yds. from the walls, and the Worcester and Coventry with the Revenge and Bombay Grab, Company's Armed Ships, which had covered the Seige of Basseen, stood in as near as they could on the South side of the Fort, and fir'd very hot for some days. Jan'y 8th the Madrass Artillery join'd the detachment before Arnold. After some days the shipping not being able to get near enough to do any material damage to the Fort drew off.

The Batteries on shore tho' at such a great distance by continual firing breach'd a bastion on the East face ; and Jan'y 17th everything was got ready to storm. The hundred Europeans march'd from Camp for that purpose ; but just after dark the Enemy having begun to treat for the Fort the Europeans were sent back. At about 10 O'clock at night the Batteries began firing again, and continued a hot fire till about 5 in the morning of the 18th, when the place surrender'd.

By the surrender of these two Forts the Company became masters of the Island of Basseen, and the most fertile spot I have seen in India. It is form'd

by a small branch of the Sea which running between Derrawa and Basseen Fort turns one branch to the Southward which forms Salset Island, and another to the Northward, & runs into the Sea again above Arnold forming Basseen Island, which is about 14 or 16 miles long, and 6 broad. For about half a mile from the Sea is an open plain of Cornland: then a fine Tope of many sorts of trees, such as Mango, Arrack, Nut, great numbers of Cocoa, Palmetto, and Guavas, which is about two miles broad and runs the whole length of the Island. Full of houses: fine tanks of water with which by means of a large wheel resembling the water wheel of one of your Corn or Paper Mills surrounded with earthen pots and turned by another Cogg wheel, which is moved by a bullock, they water their plantation of Plantane trees etc. The Eastern part of the Island beyond the Tope is a plain of paddy fields, with some marsh land. Basseen fort was built by the Portugueze who were Masters of the Island a long time till the Mahrattas took it from them about 40 & 50 years ago, after having invested it three years. There are the remains of some very magnificent churches, built by the Portuguese in the Fort. The Mahrattas had about 200 pieces of cannon, and Mortars in the Fort, most of them Portuguese and Spanish. I saw some dated about 200 years ago, very much damaged by rust; they had some of their own casting; one brass piece was about 21 feet long and 10 Inchs in diameter. The Ignorance of the Mahrattas in the art of war was very conspicuous during the Attack of this Island; for the only passage to it on the land side was by means of a large wooden bridge, which they neither defended nor destroyed, either of which would have greatly retarded our operations! and during the Seige they seldom fired any during the night, by which means we carried on our works without loss or molestation. Thro' the folly of the inhabitants or malice of the Commanders almost all the houses in the Island were burnt down on our approach: the Inhabitants applied themselves with great assiduity to re-building them as soon as the Fort was taken. There is one of the most beautiful places I ever saw some time past very agreeably: The Island abounds with Cocoa nuts, Mangos, Plaintains and all other fruit, common to the climate. After Basseen was taken and the inhabitants who abandoned the village during the Seige returned to their houses, we could get Toddy at any of their houses, for 3d or 4d a gallon. This Toddy is one of the most agreeable liquors I ever drank (when not adulterated): it is the Sap of Date, Palmetto, & Cocoanut trees, a branch of which being cut off, and a pot hung to the end of it receives the juice: it is very sweet when fresh drawn, but turns sour in 24 hours and makes good vinegar. All the bread in this country is raised with it, for a little of it mixed with the dough will raise it sooner than the best yeast in England: there is plenty of it in most parts of the Country, but I never met with it so good as here, for where Europeans frequently lie, the people get a custom of watering it, but here where the Inhabitants are strange to Europeans and we had it pure as it came out of the tree. When I can get it I seldom drink any other liquor. I used to go out a Shooting frequently here, for here was plenty of pheasants and many other sorts of Birds; and on the Ponds plenty of Teal, Widgeons, Duck etc. but it was impossible to get at them for the water was full of crocodiles or Alligators, so that if you

shot them, neither yourself nor Dog dare go in to fetch them. Jany 22nd the Madrass detachment marched off at day break : we marched North East about 10 miles, encamped at the foot of the hills.

Some one set fire to the long grass which was scorched up by the Sun at the foot of the Hills ; the fire burnt all day and night, and ran over the Hills for some miles, 23rd Marched at day break encamped among the Hills. Great stacks of Paddy had been burnt by the Enemy in the vallies ; our people found great quantities of corn buried in the earth. This days march 10 miles.

24th Marched about half an hour before day break encamped at Visseraby, about 8 miles ; and join'd Coll Hartley's detachment. This place is greatly resorted to on account of the hot baths of which there are great numbers ; some on the bank, and some in the bed of the river ; some blood warm, and some so hot a person is not able to keep his hand in the space of a second. Some visit them for Physical purposes, but more from religious motives ; all the Gentoo casts esteeming it as highly meritorious to Bathe in them. There are the Gentoo places of worship on the bank of the river. Jan 27 all the troops composing the Army being assembled, marched at 5 O'clock : disposed in the following order of march and encampment.

	Advanced Guard	
	Pioneers corps	
	2nd divison Grenadiers	
	2 six Pounders	
Right wing Commanded by Coll Parker	{ 2 Battn & ordnance Park of artillery 2 Battn & ordnance	{ Bengal division
Center Commanded by Major West phatt	{ Battn Europeans Battn Sepoys Park of artillery Battn Sepoys	{ Bombay division
Left wing Commanded by Coll Brown	{ Battn Europeans Park of artillery Battn Sepoys	{ Madrass division

Marched thro' the pass where Coll Hartley was surrounded when our Grenadiers came to his assistance : encamped on the East side of the Pass, near Dooghur ; saw no appearance of the Enemy ; about 6 miles march. The regiment of Cavalry marchd on our left flank and the Candahar Corps in rear of the whole. 28th Heath and Hardeny deserted this morning. The army marched at daybreak, about 12 miles among the hills ; encamped about one O'clock on the south bank of the Batea. Saw none of the Enemy tho' we marched over several of their encamping grounds ; a great number of them had lain on the place where we pitched. 29th Marched off at day light : marched about 3 miles, and found the Enemy drawn up on the Culloo Nuddy near Juthiary.

Our advanced Guard cross'd the Nuddy and the Enemy began throwing rockets, but as the Army came over, and began to form they retired. The army formed alive on the bank of the Nuddy, and continued under arms some time, till the Enemy by degrees retired over a hill about 2 miles distant.

30th the Army halted: the Enemy fir'd all the villages round our encampment, as they had done thro' all the country we marched. 31st the Army marched at day break, marched about 2 miles over a plain, when we found the Enemy drawn up across the road, and on a hill on the left of the line of march: the Army halted, and a good deal of firing pass'd between the Enemy and the advanced Guard; but on a party of Sepoys advancing to the hill the Enemy retired to a hollow in front.

After about half an hour's cannonading they retired to another range of hills on each side the line of march, which they made a show of defending some time, fir'd a good many Shott, and threw rockets, but on the advanced Guard of the army advancing up the hill, with 2 6 pounders they went off and we saw no more of them that day. We had 5 or 6 of the Cavalry, and some horses kill'd and wounded. After about five miles' march we encamped about noon at Burwell. Feb 1st marched at day break about six miles; encamped at Badlepore. Our advanced Guard fir'd some Shott at the Enemy, from a rising ground, in front of the encampment after we came to the ground. Sent the sick, and part of the Baggage this morning with an escort to Callian. 2nd the army halted, 3rd Halted. 4th march'd at day break. The body of the Enemy lay about seven miles off, on a plain along the banks of the river which runs by Basseen.

They had an advanced post on the bank of the Nullah about 3 miles from Badlepore, when the advanced guard arrived on the opposite bank, and fir'd 4 or 5 Cannon Shot, by which we saw 2 of their horses kill'd, they retired. The entrance on the plain was thro' a narrow hollow road, with hills on each side, covered with wood: as soon as our advanced Guard appeared thro' the pass they began a very smart fire, and continued firing Cannon, & Small Arms, and throwing rockets, till two of our field pieces came up, and began to fire, soon after which they retired, and were driven off the plain with some precipitation firing every thing as they went.

- Serjt Lambert of the Pioneers, and a European Gunner of the artillery were wounded in the leg by a rocket, and 4 or 5 Sepoys were wounded but none kill'd: encamped at Damotte. The grass in the Country grows in the rainy season to the height of 6 or 7 feet, which after the rains are over is scorched up by the Sun till it is like straw. This the Marattas fir'd whenever we went, to distress our cattle: the fire runs often for miles round, till it meets with water, ploughed ground, or a barren rock to check its progress.

There was a large village, in rear of the encampment, on fire when we came to the ground, about one o'clock. The direction of our march from Vessaraby about South East. 5th March'd at day break: our line of march was between two ranges of Rocks which ran North & South, about 4 or 5 miles distance. When we had marched about 3 miles a body of the Enemys horse taking advantage of a thick fog, came down on our left flank, and made a

charge on the baggage, and carried off several Camels & Bullocks before we could get a Gun to bear on them with which they retired. The General rode back to the rear in great haste and got two Guns to fire on them, which obliged them to leave a good deal of what they had driven out of our Line. Ensign Jameson, a Bombay officer, who was sick in the rear, in a Dooley was kill'd a Serjeant 5 or 6 Sepoys, and several of the Camp followers were wounded. The army halted; and a Battn with 2 Guns was detached to recover what Baggage we could, till about one O'clock when we marched to Dhoilley, where we encamp'd about 4 O'clock. 6 Halted. 7th march'd at Sun rise; the rout of the Army lying thro' a pass, where the ranges of hills were not above 500 yds. distance. The Enemy kept skirmishing with the rear during our passage tho it, we had several camp followers kill'd and 7 or 8 Sepoys killed & wounded. After we were thro' the Enemy appeared in front, but retired on our firing 4 or 5 Guns. Encamped about—O'clock at Mhurr: march 6 miles. 8th march'd by the left at day break, turn'd up to the Eastward, and encamped close under the hills at Campoly, the Enemy appear'd on our left flank, but retir'd on our firing 2 Guns. March 3 miles.

Our camp was surrounded with Mountains, except to the Northward, when it was plain ground from one range of hill to another about a mile off. At 11 O'clock at night, a party composed of the Pioneers, European Grenadiers, the 3rd division of Bengal, Grenadier Sepoys, supported by the 7th Batt Sepoys, and 8th Carnatic Battn with 2 6 pounders, two 2 pounders, and the Bombay Grass hoppers field pieces marched to attack the Boor Ghaat, a pass up the mountains leading into the Poonah Country. The remainder of the army formed a line from one range of hills to another, to defend the camp, in case of the army in the rear attempting to attack it, when the heart (they heard?) the attack of the Ghaat begin. About one O'clock in the Morning of the 9th the Enemy began to fire from their posts in the Ghaat, on discovering our troops advancing. A very hot fire continued the remainder of the night, the Enemy retiring from one Post to another up the Ghaat, as our troops advanced, till at day break we saw our troops had reached the top of the mountain. The Enemy's troops that lay in the rear never moved all night.

We were agreeably surprized in the Morning to hear that notwithstanding the hot fire from the Enemy of Cannon, Musquetry & rockets for near five hours, our party had sustain'd no loss, not one European being kill'd and only 2 or 3 Sepoys wounded. Our troops took post at the top of the Ghaat at Condoiah, with an advanced post about two miles in front: about 4 miles up the Ghaat, The Enemy lay on a large plain to the Eastward of the Ghaat: almost every day large bodies of them came to the hill in front of the advanced Post, where they brought their Guns, generally about 10 O'clock in the Morning, and cannonade our advanced Post till about 2 or 3 in the after noon when they usually withdrew. 20th we began throwing up works at the advanced Post for the defence of it.

There was a large Hollow between our Post and the place where the Enemy brought their Guns which made it impossible for us to attempt taking them. We recd. but little loss, from the time we took the Ghaat only 3

Europeans being wounded, and 9 or 10 Sepoys kill'd and wounded, till March 1st when the Madrass Bombay Europeans with the 6th Battn Bengal Sepoys march'd up the Ghaat to Condolah.

We had several escorts both to and from Panwell & Callian for stores and grain without meeting with any interruption from the Enemy, till the 3rd March about 2 in the Morning, when an Escort returning from Panwell were attacked by the Enemy's horse, and lost about 800 Bullocks loaded with grain; at the same time they attacked the Camp below the Ghaat, and carried off a considerable number of cattle etc. 8th the 5th Battn. Bengal & the first Battn Bombay Sepoys, with the Candahars march'd for Panwell, Commanded by Captn. Mackay. 14th March Serjt Davis and Clark deserted to the Enemy; the same afternoon Serjt Horne of the Grenadiers made his escape from the Quarter Guard, ran thro' the Bazaar, and once a high hill to the right of the encampment, in sight of the Guard, and got clear off to the Enemy, tho' immediately pursued both by Europeans & Sepoys. March 17th Alcot deserted. This day 3 of the Enemy's Shott coming over the Line; one of them went thro' an Officers Marque in the regiment, but did no damage. This morning 1st Battn. 4 Grenadiers Companies of Sepoys, march'd to reinforce Captn. Mackay, who was surrounded by a large body of the Enemy on his return from Panwell: they made a sharp attack on his Escort, and cut one Company of Bengal sepoy to pieces, and took their colonis; the Soubhadar having advanced further from the Line than he was ordered; 9 were kill'd and 24 desparately wounded before any assistance could come to them, one European a recovered 'nan coming up from Basseen Hospital was slightly wounded. But the Enemy were beat off without taking any of our stores. 20th in the morning Corporal Webber, Sheatly and Davis Grenadiers deserted. This day the Enemy brought 3 Guns nearer our lines on the left flank than they had before, from which they fir'd a great many Shot at us, some grounded just in front of the Line, and some went over, but did us no damage.

An officer and several sepoy were wounded at one of our advanced Posts. About 3 O'clock the Europeans marched out in front; the Enemy retreated as we advanced: we returned to the line between 4 and 5. Two Europeans Drake & Perry were brought in just as the Battn. marched off for attempting to desert; immediately on our return gallows were erected, and they were ordered to be executed, but the Gnl. pardoned them under the gallows and order'd them on board a Man of War. 27th the regiment of Mogul Cavalry, the Candahars, the Grenadiers of the 1st Battn. Bengal Sepoys, the 3rd Battn. 8 Carnatic and first Bombay Battn., March'd for Panwell under the command of Coll. Brown. 13 April in the Morning we heard firing below the Ghaat at a considerable distance. The Enemy in front came sooner than usual and was very near the advanced post before our people began firing, when our Shot did great execution. About 10 O'clock the firing from below ceased, and the Enemy drew off in front. 14th Coll. Browne arrived at Campoly with the Escort: he was attacked going to Panwell and lost a considerable number of Bullocks. Great numbers of the Enemy went down the

Corinda Ghatt (a pass a little to the Southward of the Boorgaat) to attack Coll Browne on his return : they did so on the 12th, 13th and 14th, but were beat off with great slaughter. We had one European Officer kill'd and five wounded, and about 100 men kill'd and wounded. 2 Battns of Bengal Sepoys and a Company of Europeans, join'd Coll Brown at Panwell.

3 Tumbrils belonging to the Escort, blew up, 2 going down, and one returning. 18th the morning the Army returned down the Ghaat to Campoly : some stragglers of the Enemy appeared on the top of the Ghaat as soon as our near Guard left but never offered to attack them : we encamped on the Ground from which we fired on the Enemy on the march from —. 20th March'd at Sunrise in the following order. Carnatic Battns. Bombay detach't, which joined Coll Brown 1st Battn. Bombay Sepoys ; the European and Madras parks of artillery, 5 Battns. Bengal Sepoys ; 6 & 8 Battns. of Bombay Sepoys, Bombay Park of Artillery ; 13th Battn. Bombay Sepoys ; 7 Battns. Bengal Sepoys, 2 6 pounders, Four Zenere (?) Grenadiers Compy, the Pioneer Corps—and one Battn. Bengal Sepoys form'd the rear guard : the Cavalry march'd on the flank to cover the Baggage.

It was intended to have maintained a post on the top of the Gaat during the rainy season, for which purpose a great quantity of ammunition and provisions were brought to the foot of the Ghaat, this design being abandoned, and the want of forage having brought the cattle exceeding poor, and many of them being unfit for carriage, we were forced to leave a great quantity of store and Shot on the Ground for want of Cattle to convey it away : a great quantity of grain, both rice & wheat we burned. The Enemy attack'd our rear as soon as we were off the Ground, and continued skirmishing all this day's march, but did little damage.

(Note. From the original manuscript of which this is a copy, several leaves are lost, in this place, and in order that such a chasm should not interrupt the historical connection, an extract from one of his letters is here inserted. W. E. Hickson.)

21st. we marched again : the Enemy attacked as before we were off our encamping ground, the first Cannon shot they fired blew up one of our ammunition Tumbrils. The road being amongst hills and hollow ways, where it was impossible to form a line, to bring them to a regular action, they took advantage of the ground where they posted their Guns in such places that we could not attack them : they likewise showered their rockets very plentifully amongst us. A rocket is a round hollow piece of iron, like a piece of a Gun barrel, but 6 or 7 inches round, and about 9 or 10 long ; tho' they are of different sizes, from 1½ to 9 lb. weight. They are fill'd with powder and other combustibles, and tied to a large Bamboo ; the powder being fired they are thrown in the air, and continue flying as long as the powder lasts : they will go a mile or a mile and half with such force that the body of a horse or Bullock will not stop them : a stroke from the Bamboo to which they are tied will break a man's thigh : where you are near the Enemy they do not throw them in the air, but on the ground when they are by far the most dangerous.

We had about 300 men kill'd and wounded this day's march, amongst whom were 13 or 14 European Officers.

The 22nd we halted, burnt and destroyed all our spare stores which by delaying our march favoured the Enemy's attack. At Midnight sent all our baggage on in front with a strong Guard, and lay on our arms on the road till day break of the 23rd, when we march'd again. The Enemy soon attacked us in the same manner as the 21st, one of their rockets blew up another of our tumbrils: the firing continued with great violence all the forenoon: our rear guard no sooner quitted any of the hills and rocks in the road than the Enemy were on them; they came so near as to call to us and ask us what we were running away for, and why we did not keep and take Poonah (Poonah is the Capital of the Mahratta Country). About noon we came to a little plain where there was room to form part of our army we made such good use of our Cannon that they scampered away faster than they came, and left us unmolested the remainder of our march.

We encamped at Panwell to which place a salt water river runs up from Bombay, about 4 O'clock greatly fatigued with being so many hours under arms in the heat of the Sun, and greatly distressed for water. Here we lay till the 20th of May when we marched off at 8 O'clock at night, and continued marching till 4 O'clock in the afternoon of the next day, when we encamped at Cachian, a fort which the Bombay troops took from the Marattas about a year before. This march was the greatest fatigue I ever endured; the excessive heat of the Sun, and want of water made many people lie down and die on the road, and others did not come up till 2 days afterwards.

Happily the Enemy never showed themselves; had they attacked us in the middle of the day we were so worn out and dispersed with fatigue, that 6 or 7000 fresh men might have cut off the whole Army. May 25th we embarked in large boats for Bombay. Thro' the neglect of our Quarter master the boat in which I was had scarcely any water on board.

The next Morning being obliged to anchor to wait for the turn of the tide, my captain sent me on shore, on Salset Insland with 7 or 8 men to search for water.

We found a village with a well of water about a mile from the Shore from which we watered our boat, but when we came to sail three of my men were missing, having straggled up the country in search of Toddy, and I was left in a small boat to wait their return. After about an hour they came skipping over the field laden with Toddy; and we overtook the boat opposite the Fort of Tannah, which having soon after passed, our boat struck on the rocks in the straits. The tide of Ebb ran very strong, and we expected the boat to be dash'd to pieces every instant. Our Captain went on shore to endeavour to procure another boat from the commanding officer at Tannah, but all he could procure were two small boats just big enough for us to stand in. With these we passed the Shallows and waited near the Shore for morning, for it was near midnight, and we had neither victuals, nor water: in the morning the captain sent me to Tannah to purchase provisions. I having seized a large boat, belonging to a black merchant, we again set

sail, fully assured of reaching Bombay before night, but were disappointed, for the tide turned when we were about 12 miles from it. Our water was exhausted and I was again sent on shore with 3 Black fellows, in the dark, to procure some, which we did not without my losing most of skin off my shins, among the rocks, on the shore. The next morning we all arrived safe at Bombay, June 4th the declaration of war against the dutch was publicly read in Bombay, and the dutch factories at Surat, Broack and other places on the coast seized. The Madras regiment being ordered to the Bombay Establishment and the 8th Carnatic Battalion of Sepoys to return to Madrass Coll. Brown removed me the 20th June from the regiment to the Sepoy Battn and on the 30th Captn Walker appointed me Serjeant Major of the Battn. July 5th we embarked on board the Portsmouth (Portland ?), Ponsborne, and Contracter Indiamen for Madrass. I went on board the Portland which had a very pleasant voyage to Madrass, where arrived the 26th of the same month. I found the Carnatic which I left in such a peacable and flourishing condition in the utmost confusion and distress. When I left the Carnatic in Jan'y 80, it was in a state of tranquility and plenty: Rice sold in Pondicherry 18 or 20 measures for a rupee, For 5 or 6 Rupees, one might buy a hog of 12 or 14 stone weight. Sheep 6 or 7 for a Pagoda, Shoes 2 Fanams a pair, exceeding good shirt cloth, at the rate of a Rupee or 15 Fanams a Shirt; Nankeen (of which we made Breeches & Waist Coats) at $\frac{1}{2}$ a Pagoda a piece; and every other article in proportion: On my return from Bombay I found a shocking alteration in affairs, all the towns in the country, except the fortified ones, burnt to the ground; the lands lying waste where their lately peacable and plentiful habitation stood: not a grain of rice to be purchased at any rate of 6 measures a Rupee, to those who were favoured with it. The troops being supplied along time salt provisions you may judge at what a rate fresh meat sold, when any could be procured; after our action with Hyder, the army being in the Polygar Country which had not been destroyed, we got plenty of mutton and beef; tho, still every other article was very dear, Sugar Candy, the only kind of Sugar that was to be got, sold at the rate of 20 ruppes a pound, and spiritous liquors such as Brandy Rum etc. sold at 14 or 15 Pagodas a dozen. After a severe fit of sickness the only thing that agreed with my stomach was milk, for which it cost me 4 or 5 Fanams every morning, for my breakfast for some time. The distresses of the poor miserable inhabitants, are enough to pierce the unfeeling heart. I never sat down to eat, but I see, numbers of poor starving wretches, waiting for the bones and scrapings, and even almost fighting for them. I have seen them cutting up Horses and Bullocks which have died on the march 'or been kill'd and which have lain till they have been offensive to a person's nose; which they very soon ate. All the Europeans in the Company's service, when in the field got one pound and half of meat, a measure of rice & 2 drams of arrack (at the rate of 40 to the gallon) per day, at the Company's expense. This alone will keep a man from feeling the severity of Hunger.

I know that in England an opinion prevails of this country being extremely unhealthy this takes foundation in a great measure from the very few of those that enter into the Company's service that ever return to England, but this

must not be attributed to the climate alone, many other reasons concern to prevent the return of the majority of the soldiers. I shall name the principal. The climate must be acknowledged as one reason as most people after their arrival are attacked with the bloody flux, after their recovery from which, I don't see but people who do not destroy their constitution by intemperance generally enjoy their health as well as in Europe. But intemperance in a variety of ways destroys thousands of its unhappy votaries ; first Drinking is carried to such an excess as is hardly credible ; half a pint of arrack for a morning's dram is as common as a glass of gin in London. This vice prevails thro' the army to a dreadful degree and many unhappy youths who on their arrival seem'd sober steady men by the prevailing force of bad example, soon fall unhappy victims to it. Gaining is another vice which is the immediate forerunner of the former ; during seige particularly, (when the troops are paid for every day's work in the trenches and sometimes perhaps 1, 2 or 3 Pagodas for as many hours work in dangerous places) when you may frequently see private men setting 20 rupees on the cast of a die. The winners at this generally spend the money in debauchery, to the ruin of their constitution, whilst the losers often have recourse to unjustifiable means to supply their necessities, and by that means bring themselves to punishment and infamy. The fatal effects of venereal disorders are only to be conceived by those who have been in hot climates and seen the many wretched spectacles it occasions ; in the short time I have been in India I have seen numberless examples of unhappy wretches who have died in the most loathsome condition and others who have been reduced to go on crutches the remainder of their days, helpless and emaciated, either from the effects of this disorder or from the injudicious administration of desperate medicines for its cure.

Yet so general is the intercourse with the most abandoned Prostitutes that when I was in Genl. Goddard's army there was a part of the camp allotted for them to pitch their tents in, which went by the name of Loll Bazaar when we arrived in cantonments near Surat the following remarkable orders were given out from head quarters "a committee of Surgeons to assemble on the — inst. to examine the public women of the Bazaar. Those that are found disordered are to be sent to the Hospital at Surat".

Another principle reason for the smallness of the numbers of those who return to their Native Country is the good provisions the Company makes for those who by age, sickness, wound or any other means are rendered incapable of service in the field ; if they are not so disabled but can mount guard now & then, they are put into some garrison where they receive their full pay & generally get a little house of their own, with a yard and garden and keep Hogs, Fowls, Ducks etc. and pass the latter part of their lives in peace and ease. If they are entirely incapable of duty they get half a Pagoda per month taken from their pay and have nothing to do but attend muster once a month and receive their pay : If they are disabled by wounds they get their full pay. These considerations (with the further inducement of 25 Pagodas bounty which the Company allows at the expiration of every 5 years to those who renew their time) induces most people to stay in the Country who have not some particular reasons for returning, for here they

are sure of a provision in age sickness or any other situation which may render them incapable of procuring their own livelihood. Another reason which detains great numbers here is the engagement with the female (not the fair) sex. Many people who on their first coming here profess the strongest determination of returning home, before their 5 years is expired have a wife and children ; and great numbers of those who do not marry keep women and have large families of children and very few of those who ever enter into any of these engagements ever think of going home afterwards. In our Battn there is a Serjeant Major, Quarter Master, Serjeant, Drill Serjeant & 4 Serjeants besides, out of whom there is but one (besides myself) single and he is using every means to get double as soon as he can. Our Drill Serjeant was married a few days ago : as he was so importunate with me to be present at the wedding, that I could not well refuse him, so I cannot resist the inclination I have, to give you a description of an Asiatic Beauty. I should just take note of the courtship, which (as the couple could not understand a word of each other's language) was carried on thro' the mouth of our Quarter Master serjeant who having been a good many years in the Country and married some time, had acquired a competent knowledge in the Country tongue : he used to sit with the girl on his knee, whilst the future bridegroom stood at an humble distance to propose his questions, & receive her answers thro' the mouth of the spokesman. At length every preliminary being settled, on the happy day, I accompanied the bridegroom into the fort where he was to meet his bride : it was half past 11 O'clock before she was dressed, her hair which was long and black was roll'd in a wreath (resembling the manner in which a snake coils itself) on the crown of her head & fastened with a long pin, with a broad flat gold head, which appeared in front ; all round this wreath were stuck flowers and bits of leaf gold, scattered all over her hair ; round her neck were several strings of Gold beads of different lengths, some just long enough to go round, and gradually lengthening till the longest reached down to the middle. On very finger and thumb she had one or more gold rings, some set with stones of different sorts, on her arms gold bracelets of a very large size, in her ears gold pendants dividing into different branches : the remainder of her dress was a sort of jacket or petti-wat of flowered blue silk, and silk shoes worked with gold flowers for Hat, Bonnet, Cap, Apron, Stays or Stockings constitutes no part of the female dress, in this part of the world nor shoes, except on such extraordinary occasions. As to her person she was about 13 years of age (for there are 5 instances in this country, of women bearing children at 15 years of age, for one in England at 20, in proportion to the number of inhabitants in each) and her complexion bore a greater resemblance to charcoal than Ivory. After we returned from the church the afternoon was spent with music and dancing in which diversions, being not qualified to act a part, either by abilities or inclination I took a walk round the fortifications of Fort St. George and returned to supper after which I immediately set out for home without finding the least inclination, to wish myself in the place of the happy bridegroom.

Hyder Ali the Nabab of a large tract of land adjoining the Carnatic called the Misour country, having at the instigation of the French invaded it, with

an army of from 80 to 100,000 men, with which he had overrun and burnt everything that fire could destroy, making the country such a scene of desolation as can hardly be conceived.

With his whole army he attacked Coll Baillie, on the 10 Sept. 1780 who had only a detachment of 5 Companys of Europeans, and about 3 Battns of Sepoys, yet repulsed Hyder's troops many times with great slaughter till two ammunition tumbrils blew up when being without ammunition Hyder's horse and fighting Elephants broke in and cut them to pieces, making it such a slaughter as was never known by any Europeans in India before. Some few of our men who fell into the hands of a body of French Hussars were made prisoners, all the rest were kill'd on the Spot and all their Cannon (10 pieces) arms, colours, baggage etc. taken. It is said Hyder lost 10,000 of his troops in the action.

(Note in a letter written when lying on the top of the Gaut he gives the following particulars respecting Coll Baillie's detachment. W. C. Hickson.)

We hear bad news from the Carnatic Coll Baillie with Lord MacLeods Grenadiers and light Infantry, two Companies of the Company's Grenadiers (one of which is the Company from which I was removed) ten sepoy Grenadiers Companies, a Company of Marksmen, and 3 Battns of Sepoys with 10 pieces of Cannon were entirely defeated, and cut to pieces by Hyder Ali, owing to the blowing up of two tumbrils of ammunition, and the inactivity of the grand army under General Munro, who was within 9 miles of them when this happened. Had I room to be circumstantial I could make the heart of a savage bleed. I dare say you will have enough of it in the public papers, and if true accounts you will know who to blame.

There is a vacancy at present for Serjeant Major of the 8th Carnatic Battn of Sepoys, the Captn of that Battn has made repeated applications for me, but Col. Brown who commands our detachment will not remove me, on account there is no other Serjeant in the Company I belong to, to supply my place, the other being sick at Basseen, however as it has been vacant there 2 months and the Captn will not have any other person if he can get me by any means, I am still in hopes to be removed whenever another Serjeant joins this Company. My pay at present is 26 Rupees per month (a rupee equals 2/6), and half a pint of arrack besides per day, besides perquisites as pay Serjeant with which I can generally make my pay as good as a guinea per week, but should I be removed and appointed Serjeant Major my pay will be double.

My contracted time will expire Augt 1783 when no flattering prospect shall induce me to stay in this country except any news from home shall make me alter my resolution. At present my situation is extremely easy my Captn (Letcher) placing such confidence in me that he leaves the management of the Company almost entirely to me and I believe his unwillingness to part with me, is the chief obstacle to my promotion. However, in my present state I have saved near £40 sterling. For curiosity I shall seal this letter with a Gold Moor (a coin value 36s.) to give you a specimen of the country coin.

After this General Monro retreated, with the remainder of his army from Coryiveram to Manelou plain near Madrass: whilst Hyder continued his ravages over the whole country. He beseiged and took Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, and sent the Garrison to Madrass on condition of never taking the field again. In Jan'y 1781 Genl Sir Eyre Coote arrived from Bengal, and took the Chief Command of our army, with which he took the field soon after, and tho' greatly inferior in numbers to the Enemy, yet he made them raise the seige of Wandewash and Permacoil, 2 forts which Hyder had attacked. He also retook Cacangolly and on the 1st July defeated Hyder in a sharp engagement near Porto Novo. But not having carriage for the provisions of his army he was obliged to keep near the sea coast, when the Shipping could bring them supplies from Madrass.

When we arrived the army was returned to St. Thomas Mount 7 miles from Madras. 2 detachments had taken the dutch fort of Madrass and Pullicate, and Admiral Hughes was gone with the fleet to block up Negapatnam, the principal dutch settlement on the coast. Aug 15th the army being joined by a large reinforcement from Bengal marched from St. Thomas Mount and on the 19th encamped before Trepasore which Fort was immediately invested and on the 22nd it surrendered: we had two 10 pounders burst during the attack by one of which an officer of our Battalion was kill'd. We marched from Trepasore the 26th, and saw some parties of the Enemy's Horse and from the clouds of dust in front supposed their army to be in motion. 27th in the morn'g we saw the Enemy drawn across the roads: their left on the ground which proved so unfortunate to Coll Baillie and his handfull of brave troops, their center was posted at a village call'd Pallibore behind the ruin'd houses, and in a large plantation of plantane tress: their right extended amongst swamy ground, and hollow ways, and all their cannon was posted behind Banks so to be hid from our view. Our Line halted, while General Coote rode in front to reconnoitre the situation of the Enemy. He then ordered the Cavalry which were in front to go back for the protection of the Baggage; and our Battn which was the advanced guard of the army that day, to wheel to the left of the road, and cross a water course, after which we were to advance to a Bank, about 6 or 700 yds distant from the Enemy's line, where we were to take post, and cannonade the Enemy from the 2 6 pounders attached to our Battalion, till the rest of the army could come up and form. We had no sooner got over the water course and were advancing over a sandy plain than the Enemy began a hot fire on us from 18 or 20 pieces of Cannon, which crossed and raked the line in all directions. They knocked down of our men but happily we gained our post without having any of the Bullocks which drew our guns kill'd: had they kill'd any of them, the delay it would occasion whilst we were in the full rake of their shot, would in all probability occasioned our losing a great many men. After we had got to the Bank we were in a great measure sheltered from their shot yet before the Bullocks were got out of the Guns, and taken away, eight of them were kill'd.

We fir'd our two Guns as fast as we could load them, the Enemy shot and Rocket kept flying in showers around us. We were here near half an

hour before any more of the army came up to engage, after they came up and began firing, it took off the heat of the fire, in some measure, from our Battalion.

The Enemy seeing us detached from the Line, a body of their Horse made two or three movements as if they intended to surround us, but we drove them off with our fire-arms. The cannonade began at 9 O'clock and continued till 2 O'clock in the afternoon, before I could see any probability of either side getting the better, their being nothing but one continued roar from 120 pieces of Cannon, which extended between two and three miles in length. At length a body of our troops advanced, and attacked the Enemy's force posted in the village of Pollibose, and drove them from it. They now began to draw off their Guns and their whole line seemed preparing to retreat. The troops of our left began to form a line in a field Paddy yet the ground was so intersected by Banks and hollow ways, that it was near 4 O'clock when they were formed, when we were ordered to quit our Post and join them. The Enemy cannonaded us very smartly as we were advancing to our station in the Line, but as soon as our Line began advancing they never fired another shot. They retreated over a rising ground in front: we pursued them as fast as we could, but the Bushes and unevenness of the ground made it difficult to keep our Line close. When we reached the top of the rising ground the Enemy's rear were out of cannon shot, and it being just Sun set, and our right wing being unable to pursue the Enemy on account of Boggy ground between them, so that we were two or three miles distant from them, we halted and lay on our arms all night. When the Shot had done flying round me my stomach began to call loudly for victuals, an officer of our Battalion drew his sword and I got a pioneer's axe with which we haggled off a quarter of one of Hyder's Bullocks, which our Shot had knocked down. Without staying to flay it, we made a fire, and broiled some beef on the coals and my cook boy coming up with a mess of rice, I made a hearty supper and lay down and dreamed we had taken Hyder prisoner. The next morning we marched back and joined the right wing which was encamped on the field of action. Our loss was very considerable. Brigadier General Stewart lost his leg, and Coll Brown lost his life, just on the left of our Battalion. Coll Brown lost his arm within sight of the same spot 20 years ago. Sir Eyre Coote's aid de champ was kill'd on the spot; and the Nabob of Arcot's son had a horse shot under him, close to the General. Yet on the whole we did not lose so many men as might have been expected from the position of the Enemy, and the length of the action. I have since heard that the Enemy's kill'd and wounded were between 6—7000, our loss did not exceed so many hundreds. Our Captain had a great piece taken from the brim of his hat by a cannon shot: and 4 or 5 shots grounded near enough to knock the sand over me. If we had had provisions for the army, so that we could have followed them, I make no doubt, from what I have since heard, that we should have taken most of their Guns the next day: but we had scarcely any rice in camp, and were obliged to return towards Madrass for a supply, after exerting every effort to carry rice for the army for as long a time as possible. In September we again marched to the Eastward. We had some trifling

skirmishes with the Enemy's detached parties of horse, but nothing of consequence happen'd till the 27th when our Brigade was ordered to march in front of our encampment : we formed and advanced towards a rock where a body of the Enemy were posted. They threw rockets and gave us a scattering fire of small arms ; after which they retired and we gained the height, from which we had a full prospect of Hyder's encampment on a rising ground about three miles distance, with a large plain of swampy ground between us. We halted till our Army came up and joined, when we marched along the height on which we were, till our Brigade which was the right of our army, was opposite the left of the Enemy's encampment. We had hitherto march'd in a parallel line to the Enemy without advancing nearer to them, and tho' we could see them forming yet part of their tents were still standing, and I believe Hyder did not believe we meant to attack him but as soon as the two armies were right opposite each other we faced to the left and advanced on to the charge.

Our Brigade wheeled to the left and kept advancing to turn the left of the Enemy's line. A hot cannonade now began from both sides, 4 or 5 pieces of their cannon were posted behind a Bank amongst some trees, from which they fired very hotly at our Brigade. A body of water in front hindered us from advancing further in that road, we were ordered to wheel to the right by Battns which brought us into such a position that the Enemy's line of fire rak'd the length of our Battalion, they saw our situation, and fired very smartly, but being at a considerable distance did but little damage. At length we got round the water, formed our Brigade, and advanced towards the Enemy ; upon which they retreated with such precipitation that they never fired another shot at us all day.

The ground was very uneven and in some places large bodies of water, so that they got their cannon off with great difficulty, and had not the same reason hindered us from advancing with a brass 18 pounders, with as much rapidity as we wished, I believe we could have taken all the Guns on the Enemy's left. During these transactions on their left, a large body of the Enemy's best Cavalry advanced to meet the left of our line, which they charged very fiercely, and some few of them got thro' the line by means of a small opening at one of our guns ; but they were not able to make the smallest impression on any of our Battalions, and were driven off with great slaughter leaving the ground strew'd with their men and horses. A general retreat ensued, and had it not been for the approach of night, which prevented us from pursuing them, a terrible slaughter must have followed. At Sunset our Brigade was near two miles in front of the rest of the line where we cannonaded the Enemy (who were running before us in a confused mob of men, horses, Elephants, Bullocks, and Camels) so warmly that the General advanced the whole Line with the utmost expedition to support us, thinking by the violence of our fire, that the Enemy had renewed the action. Night put an end to the cannonade before the Line came up to us, and we encamped on the ground where the Enemy were in the morning. We took one piece of cannon, and one stand of colours, and from the best accounts the Enemy lost in kill'd and wounded 1500 men, our loss which is hardly

credible did not exceed 20 men, but two of them were Europeans of our Brigade.

Want of provisions again prevented our following them. The next day we marched amongst the Hills into a country called the Pollams, from whence Hyder had drawn great quantities of provisions. Here we got plenty of fowls and sheep, with large quantities of rice. Oct 6th our Battn with five more were ordered on detachment under Lieutt Coll Owen. A violent purging which had troubled me for some time made me unable to go with the Battn and I was left in the grand camp. The 17th Coll Owen took 6 or 7000 head of cattle which were going to the Enemy, and sent them into camp. The 23rd we were suddenly alarmed with an account that Hyder's whole army had made a forced march of about 30 miles, and attacked Coll Owen who was lying 16 or 17 miles from us. The army immediately advanced to support him, but for the badness of the roads did not come up with him till after dark. On the approach of the Enemy Coll Owen had abandoned his baggage and began to retreat towards our camp; he had a thick woody pass to come thro', where the Enemy attacked him on all sides, and pressed so hard on the rear, where our Battn was that they took a six pounder, but a company of European Grenadiers, who joined the detachment the day before, charged, and retook it, in doing which they had one man kill'd, and 17 wounded, out of 40. Close by the Gun they found my brave old Captain (Walker) lying dead, he being cut down taking it. Soon after this, the Enemy hearing of the march of our army, gave over the attack, and the detachment halted and dressed their wounded, when the advanced guard of the army came up to them. Our Battn suffer'd the most in this action; we had about 70 men kill'd, wounded and taken.

(Note. Having fill'd up the chasm occasioned by the lost leaves with the above extract from one of his letters, we now revert to the original article which thus continues. W. E. Hickson.)

Oct 31st. our Brigade, and the Cavalry marched at 4 O'clock, we went thro' the Pass where Hyder attacked Coll Owen's detachment. The Pass is very woody, and the ground exceeding stoney, which rendered it absolutely impossible for even a grand division to form so that the Detachment was obliged to retreat by files, and Hyder's Horse and Rocket boys lin'd the woods on every side of them.

We encamped at the entrance of the pass about 11 O'clock at night, Nov 1st about 9 in the morning the advanced guard of the army came up to us; they marched by us, and the Army and Baggage continued passing us till about 2 O'clock: they encamped three miles in front of us. About 3 O'clock our Brigade marched and took up its station in the Army. Nov. 2 the Army marched at 4 O'clock; cross'd the river Poonee near which Coll Owen on the 17th ulto took the cattle going from Chittore to Arcot. We marched about 10 miles, where we halted at 11 O'clock till 3 in the afternoon, to get some water and victuals for the cattle, when we marched again about 6 miles thro' very woody & stoney ground and encamped near Mahwimon delgardum. A party of the Enemy's Horse had fired some houses, at a

distance on the left of our line of march, when seeing the Army halt in the middle of the day, rode on to the ground where we encamped at night and were lying in the greatest security, some asleep, some cooking etc. when our advanced guard saw them, and charged after them: they rode off in the greatest confusion: we took about 20 Horses, and kill'd several men.

3rd marched at the same hour as Yesterday: we expected Hyder would have met us this day, and exerted his utmost to prevent our reaching Vellour, but we saw nothing of him, and about noon we encamped by Villaur. 4th Halted. 5th Coll Lang and the Grenadiers Compy of the 1st Battn 1st Regiment joined the army Villour.

Hyder had made several attempts on Villour and had actually made a breach in one of the Forts, on the rock, which commanded Villour. He attempted to carry it by storm three times in one night in January last but was beaten off with great slaughter. The garrison afterwards sallied out and spiked up his guns, which, with our army taking the field by the sea side obliged him to abandon the enterprize. In the afternoon of the 5th our army moved about 3 miles the same road we came; saw some of the Enemy's Horse scattered on our right. 6th at 4 O'clock marched the same rout we came. The Enemy's Horse appeared in the rear: they threw some Rockets and our rear guard fir'd a few guns at them.

Encamped about noon, near the ground where we halted on the 2nd Inst. 7th Marched at 4 O'clock: turned to the left of our former rout, and at 10 encamped before Chittour. Two Battns immediately took possession of the Pettah. Got two 12 Pounders and two Hourtzers, upon a rock about 5 or 600 yds to the Southward of the Fort, which commanded the walls. 8th Captn Theabald, chief Engineer was kill'd by a musquet shot from the walls, about 2 O'clock in the morning, as he was reconnoitering the Fort: General Coote was slightly wounded. This eveng our Battn went down as a working party; we carried Gabions & Fascines from a Tope on the left of our lines, and erected a Battery for two 18 pounders on the bank of a tank, on the Southwest of the Fort, at about 120 yds. distance. The Enemy kept an almost constant fire from small arms, Jingaul pieces, & sometimes Cannon all night, but all at random as they never discovered us.

9th a hot fire all day from the Battery, and rock, the wall of the Fort came down very fast. 10th the Fort surrenderd: left Capt La Motte with the 9th Carnatic Battn in Chittour. 16th the army marched by the left at Sunrise; recrossed the Poonee at the same place we cross'd it the 2nd Inst. A Body of the Enemy's Horse appeared on our right; they threw a great many rockets whilst we were crossing the river but did no damage; we fir'd some 18 Pound shot which made them draw off. About 4 O'clock encamped at the head of the Dewallam Pettah Pass near which Coll Owen's detachment laid: this day Lieutt Innes was wounded. 17th in the forenoon the army began its march thro' the pass, from the left, our right came to the old encamping ground, near Polly hill about 11 at night. 18th in the morning heard heavy Guns firing at a distance; the army marched by the left about 8 O'clock in the morning; left the road to Athamancherry by which we came

on our right. Encamped at Naggarry about 3 in the afternoon, our Battn was the rear guard, & was ordered to be joined by the 18th Battn which was left under Captn Temple at Poly hill with the baggage etc. when the army marched from Villour. A large body of the Enemy had surprised him on the 10th while we were at Chittaur, and taken 2 six pounders attached to the Battalion, with the field piece we took from the Enemy the 27th Septr and a large quantity of Baggage. The Battn retreated with the rest to a pass in Pollans where they had collected a large quantity of grain. It rained excessive hard: Captn Temple did not join us till 7 O'clock at night. The cattle were so excessively tired, and the night so dark that Coll Owen who commanded the regiment Grenadiers judged it absolutely impossible for us to follow the army till daylight. We lay on the ground till day break of the 20th, when we joined the army in the Morning which was encamped about 4 miles from Naggarry. The heavy rain, bad roads, and weakness of the cattle obliged us to drop great quantities of rice on the road. 21st. marched at Sunrise: came into our old road near Neddamburram; crossed the river and encamped on the banks of it, about 4 miles from Trepasore; being a march of 14 miles. The rear of the Line did not come up before midnight, nor great quantities of the baggage till next day. 23rd the army marched and encamped at Cockalore plain, about 3 miles from Trepasore on the Madrass roads. A detachment of the Enemy's retook the Fort of Pollnore, whilst our army was at Chittour and took 3 iron 18 Pounders which we left there. On the 12th Tippoo Sahib and Lally with a large body of troops came before Trepasore: they carried on approaches towards the Fort with great expedition and the 18th in the morning opened a Battery of 2 18 and two 24 pounders against the curtain wall of the East face of the Fort. They made a considerable breach the same day, but the heavy rain that fell at night and the approach of our army, made them raise the Seige; they drew off their guns in the night of the 18th and quitted their camp. Our lascars Billdars, and Pioneers employed in filling up the Enemy's trenches repairing the breach in the Fort etc. 23rd fired a salute for the capture of Negapatam. 30th the army marched at Sunrise, encamped at 4 in the afternoon at Pondamabe; left the 16th & 17 Carnatic Battalion at Trepasore. Dec 3rd the army marched into cantonments. The 1st Battn at St. Thomas's; artillery Park, & 4th Battn Choultry Plain, 2nd Brigade Vipery; 3rd and 5th Brigade St. Thomas's Mount; left the 4th & 21st Carnatic Battn at Pandamabe. 10th to my great surprise received a letter from my Brother in London; who had got intelligence of my coming to India by a young woman's accidentally falling into discourse with the waterman who had been so kind to me on my first enlisting. Dec 29th the army marched from their cantonments and formed a camp on Mamelow plain. Every means being used to carry as large a quantity of rice as possible by allowing only 2 private tents to a Company of Europeans, and in proportion to the other Coops, and employing the Bullocks to carry grain for the garrison at Vellore. Jan. 2nd 1782 marched from Mamelow, encamped at Villout. 3rd marched at 10 O'clock in the forenoon and encamped about 4 on the west face of Trepasore 4 & 5th halted, on account of the commander in chief being dangerously ill, Jan 6th marched

at Sunrise, encampd about 1 O'clock about two miles to the westward of our encampment on the 21st Sept at Neddamburram. Jany 7th marched at Sunrise, encamped at Tretany about 2 O'clock, a small distance to the Northward of our encampment near Pollnore, the 23rd Sept, leaving our old rout on our left. Saw some parties of Horse, our rear fir'd a few shot at them.

8th Marched at Sunrise, a body of Horse appeared on our Flanks, and threw rockets. 5 or 6000 Horse drew up seemingly with a design to oppose our entering Shollingurn Pass but retir'd on our advanced guard firing a few shots. Marched thro' the pass, and encamped on the ground we lay on the 28th Sept. 9th marched at Sunrise, crossed the Poonee 5 or 6 miles to the Southward of where we crossed it the 16th Novr. A large body of Horse drew up on a rising ground to the Westward of the river, but retired after receiving a few cannon shot from the front of our line. Saw the Enemy's Camp about 3 miles in front who struck their tents & marched towards Arcott as we came in sight.

Encamped about 4 O'clock on the rising ground near the river. 10th Marched at Sunrise ; saw clouds of dust in the rear from the motion of the enemy. About 10 O'clock they attacked the rear of our line, as they were crossing a swampy valley, a very smart cannonade ensued. The ground was very rocky and large bodies of water between the rocks, which made it impossible for us to form a regular line. Between 11 and 12 the line moved to the left, to prevent the Enemy extending their line that way. Large bodies of Horse on this made a motion towards a valley on the right. Their principle design seemed to be against our grain and baggage : our Battn and two more were ordered to form up the valley to our right of the line of march which we did. The army now occupied so many different parts to the right and left of the road that the Enemy found it impossible to pass away troops to attack our Baggage etc. which was entirely in front of the Line. A very smart cannonade continued till past three O'clock, when the Enemy drew off their guns, and gave over the attack. The line then moved on, not having lost a single bullock or bag of rice. We received no interruption the rest of the afternoon, soon after Sunset encamped about 4 mils from Nellore. Our loss in kill'd and wounded amounted to near 100 men, of whom one Lieutt of European Grenadiers (Greenwell) was kill'd an artillery officer (Ruth bridge) and one of the Cavalry wounded, one private kill'd and three wounded, were all the Europeans.

Hyder had cut passages through the banks of a large tank and by that means swamped the ground where he purposes to attack us. 11th moved to the ground we encamped on the 3d Novr sent all the grain etc. into Vellore. 12th halted, 13th March'd at Sunrise by our left. When we were about 6 miles from Villour the Enemy Horse came upon our rear ; they threw vast quantity of rockets at our line, but did very little damage. Hyder's army was drawn upon a rising ground on the right of the Swamp where he attackd our rear on the 10th. His cannon were posted in the intervals of his line ready to open on us we passed. A large body of water between us made it impossible for us to advance nearer his line, so that we had no option,

but to march thro' the fire of the artillery of his whole line or endeavour to drive them off by our cannon where we were: the latter, considering the advantages of the Ground, and superior weight of metal of the Enemy, would (if not absolutely impracticable) have exposed our army to greater danger than the former. Accordingly we clapped the Sepoys to the drag ropes, as the guns came to the Swamp, and ran on as fast as possible. At 11 O'clock just as the European corps got into the slough, the Enemy opened their Guns. We drew some of our Guns up on the most advantageous ground, and returned their fire. After the army pass'd the Swamp our rout lay still within reach of the Enemy's shot; a range of rocks on our left prevented our passing any other road; they continued an excessive hot fire on us for about 3 miles. Between the body of water and a rock on our right was a spot of ground about a mile over, which was the only way by which we could approach the Enemy, or they came nearer to us. The Enemy, confident of our keeping on our march began to advance their guns by this way to pursue us; but our line suddenly facing to the right, and advancing rapidly towards them, threw them into great confusion, and their fire instantly ceased, they being in the utmost haste to retreat with their guns towards Arcot. By this time it was 4 O'clock and we had no hopes of being able to come up with them, however we pursued them till Sunset, with the heaviest fire I ever saw from our Line. Just before Sunset findg themselves safe, from our being unable to come up with them before dark, they halted, 2 or 3 Guns, and returned our fire for a few minutes, but did us no hurt. After the Sun went down we returned into the road, and encamped on the same ground as the 9th. 14th crossed the Ponee, and encamped on the East side of it. Our loss yesterday was very small, considering the length of time we were in their fire. Capt'n Lucas of the artillery kill'd, 4 European killed, and two wounded. The Enemy had 4, 6, 12, 18, & 26 pounders in the field. 15th Marched: encamped very near the ground where our army formed the 27th September. 16th Intelligence being received that the Enemy had moved a large body of troops, with artillery, on our right, and that they were encamped within a few miles of us, the army marched off at day break in two columns in hopes to bring them to action, leaving the Baggage under the protection of two Battns (of which ours was one) and a Regt of Cavalry.

The Enemy retiring behind low, wet ground, about 3 O'clock in the afternoon an order was sent for the baggage to follow the army. No sooner had we left the rock (Shollingar) where we were posted, but the Enemy began to throw rockets at us, and a little before Sunset, brought two pieces of cannon to a rock in our rear, from which they cannonaded us until dark, but without any effect. We had three men of our Battn wounded by their rockets. Encamped about 3 miles to the westward of Tretany. 17th marched at Sun rise: encamped near Neddamburra; saw no Enemy. 18th marched at Sun rise: encamped on the west side of Trepasore. 19th marched and encamped on Cockalore plain. 20th Marched encamped at Villout. 22nd our Battn was detached to a post, half way between Pandamabe and Madrass; for the protection of people passing to and from camp. During the time we were in Cantonments Hyder retook Chittour, and made Luttole, and the 9th Battn

prisoners. Whilst the army lay at Villout we received intelligence that the garrison of Tillichery, being re-inforced by some king's troops, which were landed from on board the Ships just arrived from Europe had sallied out and stormed Hyder's camp before that place, had taken the general prisoner, with a great number of men, with all his cannon, stores, etc. A vessel arrived from Madrass with an account of the capture of Trincomalee by the Squadron under Admiral Hughe's Squadron (9 sail) continued at Anchor under cover of the Fort. Soon after the French fleet weighed again and fell down to the Southward, intending as we supposed to land troops at Pondicherry. In the evening Admiral Hughes weighed and stood after them. At Sunset both flats were very near each other, about 8 or 10 miles South of Madrass. 16th at about 8 o'clock at night heard a great deal of firing at sea, to the Southward. 17th about 4 in the afternoon, heard a great quantity of firing at a great distance. 19th a large French vessel was sent into Madrass by our fleet with troops on board. 22nd a detachment of three Battns of which ours was one marched a little before Sunset, to escort grain etc. to Chingleput, where we arrived at Gunfire in the morning. 24th marched from Chingleput about 5 in the afternoon. About two o'clock in the morning a party of the Enemy attacked the rear, threw a few rockets, and carried off a great many Bullocks. We arrived in camp, at Sunrise of the 25th Major Bym (Byin?) who commanded the detachment, was tried by court martial and cashiered for neglect of duty in not protecting the convoy under his charge; we lost between three and four thousand Bullocks. 25th heard that a body of the Enemy had surprised a party of our troops to the Southward, and taken Col. Braithwaite prisoner. March 7th at 9 o'clock at night a party of 100 Europeans and 4 Battns of Sepoys of which ours was one, marched with an intention to Surprise a party of the Enemy's Horse, consisting of 3 or 4,000, who were lying about 2 miles to the right of Chingleput road, opposite General Smith's Choultry. As the night was dark and we took a circuit round the hills where there was no road it was very bad marching, and if we had had any Guns it would have been absolutely impossible to have got along.

At day break we came on to their camp, but they had got intelligence of our coming a little before and were getting away as fast as possible; however we exchanged a good deal of musquetry, and they went off in great confusion, leaving a good many Bullocks and horses, and a good deal of Baggage behind them, with some grain. Soon after sunrise the General came up to us with the Cavalry, and some more troops: he pursued them awhile, and then returned, and lay on their ground till 3 in the afternoon when we marched back to camp. March 5th Admiral Hughes with the fleet came into Madrass roads to land their sick, wounded, and prisoners, refit the ships and get a fresh supply of ammunition etc. They being a good deal shattered in the action with the French fleet, particularly the Exeter. We took 3 sail of transports from the French, but no fighting ships were taken on either side. March 31st two sail of Indiamen arrived from Europe: they were convoyed by some Ships of War which joined Hughe's fleet as soon as they had seen them safe in the roads. The fleet left the roads two days before. The 78th regiment of foot arrived on board these Ships. April 10th the army marched

about 8 miles on the Chingleput road: encamped at Jaumaurim. The 11th marched, turned to the right of the road and encamped near the place where the Enemy lay on the 7th. Saw bodies of the Enemy's horse in front both days. 12th halted. 13th marched about 7 miles, and encamped at Vaderapett, 14th, 15th and 16th halted: showery weather. 17th marched: encamped on the north bank of the river near Chingleput. 20th in the evening a detachment of the 2nd Battn of Sepoys marched for the mount. 25th intelligence being received that a body of the Enemy had moved down towards to mount, a detachment of two regiments of Cavalry, and a Battn of Sepoys, marched to meet the Escort returning from the mount. Ap 26th Hyder's whole army being in motion the army marched at 5 o'clock in the afternoon to support the Escort in case of their being attacked. All the baggage we left at Chingleput under the charge of our Battn all the carriage and bullocks being gone to Madrass; we employed all night, with what conveyance we could get, removing rice under cover of Chingleput Guns. April 27th Capt. Clarke received a Chit to acquaint him that the army was returning, Hyder having altered his course as soon as he heard our army was in motion; the army came in soon after, never having joined the escort.

April 28th the escort arrived safe; the 78th regiment of foot and the 2nd Battn Sepoys from trepasore joined the army with them. The weather being excessive hot, and the 78th regt having been a long while at sea, and unaccustomed to a hot climate about 20 of them died on the mulch from the mount to the army. Serjeant Condon as he was returning to Madrass with some coolies, who came with our Escort, was taken prisoner by some of the Enemy's Lootys; Captn Bate was taken prisoner with the party. May 4th crossed the river and encamped on the South side. 8th recrossed the river, marched, and encamped at Vedacapett. 9th marched, and encamped at Manimuugulum. 10th Marched, and encamped at Tamourani. While we lay by Chingleput a large body of the Enemy with Cannon attacked the Gardens, Houses, and outposts round Madrass, but were beaten off from every attack, and several of them taken prisoners. The French landed a body of troops at Porta Nova, after the action at sea in March, with which they reduced Cuddalore: the Europeans were all sent to Madrass, agreeable to the terms of the Capitulation. Heard that there had been an obstinate and bloody engagement, between the two fleets, off the Island of Ceylon. May 14th several indiamen bound for Bengal were detached, and fitted up as men of war to join the fleet, at Trinconiallee, when they were detained by refitting after the action. May 16th having got large quantities of grain from Madrass, the 2nd Brigade, 78th Regt, and a regiment of Cavalry, marched, and encamped by Genl Smith's Choultry. This march we found the body of one of the 78th Regt who had been lost, and died on the road when that corps joined the army, his firelock was lying by him. 17th the detachment marched, and encamped at Chinior macoil; when the rest of the army joined us, about two hours after. A fall of rain in the night prevented our marching the next morning. 18th and 19th heavy showers of rain. 20th marched by Chingleton, and encamped on the South bank of the river. 21st marched and

encamped at Carrangooly. 22nd halted. 23rd march'd and encamped at Aveetiamungulum.

24th marched to Wandewash, encamped on the ground where the decisive action with the French was fought on the 22nd January 1760 ; in commemoration of which the Genl ordered an extra dram and biscuits to the Europeans, and a day's Batta to the black troops.

25th marched and encamped about two miles to the Southward of Wandewash. 26th halted. 27th marched about 6 miles to the Southward, encamped at Tyar. The advanced guard fired two or three shots at a body of the Enemy's Cavalry who were throwing rockets at the Line. Saw some houses repaired and inhabited, and here and there a spot of ground cultivated. 28th Marched about six miles further South. The Enemy rocketed our advanced guard, but did no damage. Encamped at Carampanoum. 29th The army was ordered to march before daybreak, but after the assembly had beat, and the advanced guard had marched off the order was countermanded. 30th Marched to the right : turned to the Westward, and encamped at Dessore, a small mud fort which had been dismantled. Took a large quantity of cattle within a little way of the fort. Our Battn was ordered on duty in the Pettah, found great quantities of Paddy, buried in the houses, but in the after noon, as they were digging in the Bramin's Street, one of the Bramins set fire to a house which spread, and destroyed most of the Pettah. 31st Marched, and encamped at Chittepet. June 1st marched towards Arnee, crossed the bed of a small river, and encamp'd on the north side of it near Vancmunguoum June 2nd the army was ordered to march by the left ; baggage on the left, at 4 in the morning but that order was countermanded, and the army marched by the right, baggage on the right. The Enemy began rocketing our rear guard before they got off their ground. Just as the General was directing the Quarr Master Genl where to pitch the camp, near Arnee, between 8 and 9 in the morning, Hyder began firing his heavy cannon, his whole army being come upon the rear. The General ordered the line to halt, and rode back ; soon after he sent to Major General Stewart, who cammanded the front line, to advance, as fast as possible, and take possession of a rising ground in front. The Enemy began to extend themselves on our right flank, and all the baggage being there the line was forced to halt, to let it pass to the left, which was no sooner done than the Fort of Arnee began firing and threw their shot in amongst them. The Line was now ordered to the right about, and all our Brigade and the 17th Carnatic Battn with the Cavalry left for a Baggage Guard. The Enemy made a motion as if they intended forming to the Eastward of us, towards Wandewash : our line drew up to oppose them in that direction, but it soon appeared that the Enemy main body was formed to the Southward, with Chittapet in their rear. Our front line made a motion to the right and formed to face the Enemy, when they halted for the rear line, whilst that was coming up the Enemy cannonaded very hot with 18 and 24 pounders whilst our Guns would not reach them. As soon as the Line was formed they advanced with an astounding rapidity, yet not so fast as the Enemy retreated.

We formed a square round the baggage and followed the Line which pursued the Enemy to the river ; we crossed near Nanumungulum when they took a long brass six pounder field piece, five tumbrills and three carts laden with ammunition. The European Grenadiers and light infantry crossed the river but could not come up with the Enemy. A large body of Horse hovered about our rear, and threw rockets at the baggage, but did us no hurt. The army encamped at Sunset on their old ground, near Vavumungulum. We had very little loss ; three or four Europeans kill'd and six or eight wounded, the Commandant of the 4th Battn, and 30 or 40 Lascars etc. kill'd and wounded.

June 3rd halted, 4th marched, and encamped to the southward of Arnee. In the afternoon the Fort fired a good many shot at some of our parties. 5th Three Battns and all the Pioneers, Billdars, Lascars etc. were ordered for a working party.

Soon after they had begun to cut down trees etc. round the Fort, the Generale beat, and the whole was in readiness to move on intelligence being received that the Enemy was near.

Their army marched off towards Wandewash, and the tents were pitched again. Sixth the army marched (crossed the river) to a wall'd village, where the Enemy had a great quantity of cattle. Their army marched towards Arcott, and passed the head of our line, at a few miles distance. We took great quantities of cattle, and some paddy. 7th marched, crossed the river, and encamped at Tresalore where we found great numbers of cattle. 8th halted. About 4 in the after noon the Enemy brought a large body of Cavalry in our front, and surrounded the grand guard, consisting of about 60 Cavalry and 70 or 80 Infantry with two light three pounders, having first decoyed them by showing a small body, and keeping their main body concealed in the Topes, to a distance from their post which was on a ridge of ground about a mile and a half in front. They maintained a very smart fire about a quarter of an hour but were overpowered before any assistance could reach them, as the line was encamped on ground intersected with banks, and ditches, so as to make a movement very difficult. One European officer and about 20 men, with one stand of colours, and the two tumbrills made their escape, the other officer with the two guns and the rest of the guard were carried away, excepting those who were kill'd or desperately wounded who amounted to about 30. 9th marched, and encamped at Wandewash, where we lay till the 13th during which time all the Lascars, Coolies, Billdars etc. were employed in the Fort putting it in a state of defence. 13th marched, and encamped at Outramatore. 14th marched, and encamped at Sallivanck. 15th Encamped on the South side of the Pattiarra over against Chingleput. 17th encamped near Chinni Permacoil. 18th Encamped at Tamourani. 19th encamped at the mount. 20th marched, and encamped at Valiampang, about 4 miles from Pondamalee on the Madrass side. 23rd fired a royal salute in consequence of a peace concluded between the Company and the Marattas. The 78th Regt ordered to Cantonments: on their march from Arni to the ground there were not 100 men of the regt able to march in the rank ; and the Europeans in general were very sickly. July 3 marched to Cundatore :

4th to Masumungulum. 5th halted. 6th marched to Tenary. As the army came to the ground a body of the Enemy's cavalry drew off. They threw three or four rockets. Lieutt. Dallars rode up to one of them and ordered him to dismount, which he refusing the Lieutt. cut off his left arm close to the shoulder and he died in a short time thro' loss of blood. Fired a royal salute on account of Admiral Hughe's victory off Negapatam. 10th marched to Sheverani. 16th to Marcumpaddy. 17th to Sree Namungulum. 18th to Wandewash. 22nd returned to Areehamungulum. 23rd Soramalore. 24th to Vedacapet. 25th Manimungulum. 27th to Conditore. Lay at Conditore till August 7th when we marched to Terrore. 8th crossed the river near Trepasore, and encamped at Ramanacherry. 9th marched and encamped to the eastward of Tretany. 10th marched thro' Shollingurr pass, and encamped to the westward. 11th Encamped at Malpaddy, on the same ground where lay on the 9th January. This day's march Serjt. Cherrington was lost, supposed to be taken by some Looty horse, who hovered about our rear. 12th Encamped near Vellore on our old ground. 14th in the evening, ours and the 17th Battn marched with the Pioneers, to destroy a Fort possessed by some Fakirs, on the Arcot Road, about 7 miles from Vellore called Callagurry. 15th the army marched: we fell into our place in the Line: encamped at Cheeare, the ground where we drew up on the 10th Jany where the Enemy attacked our rear. 16th encamped at Kerry Charree the ground where we lay the 14th Jany. 17th marched thro' Shollingur and encamped on the same ground on the 16th Jany. 18th encamped at Neddumburrat. 19th on Cockalore plain 20th on Villout. 21st between the mount and Conditore at Gurrumbancum. Admiral Hughes Squadron had just left the roads. 28th marched to Tamouram. 29th Halted. 30th to Chini Permacoil. 31st to the South bank of the Palliara, opposite Chingleput. Sept. 1st marched to Carangolly. 2nd to Achmedanke. 3rd halted. 4th to Tindavamum. 5th to Killinore. 6th on the red hills near Pandicherry. Here we lay waiting for the ships which were to bring cannon and stores, for attacking Cuddalore, till the 11th inst, daily making signals from the top of Major Steven's monument. During our stay General Coote was taken very ill, and the command devolved on General Stuart. The 11th inst a party of the Enemy's horse, about 60, came into us.

The same day on some intelligence being received giving room to doubt of the Ship's arrival, we suddenly marched off at two in the afternoon, and encamped the same night at Killinore. 12th at Tiriardavamum. 13th at Achmewante. 14th at Carrangolly. 15th on the South side of the Palliara. 16th Halted. 17th at Chini Permacoil. 18th Tamouram. 19th encamped near the mount, where we lay till the 28th; when we changed ground to Tamourani, on account of Forage. Heard that the Ships arrived in Pondicherry roads the day after we left the red hills. Octr 15th changed ground about 3 miles nearer the sea to Pollicanny. The same night a violent storm of wind, and rain did great damage to the vessels in the roads. Sir Ed. Hughes stood out to sea with the fleet. Upwards of 100 vessels of different sizes were wrecked. 15000 bags of rice, and vast quantities of other provisions were lost, estimated at 3 months provision for the settlement. Genl Munro resigned. General Stuart was appointed Commander in Chief on the coast. Oct 18th the army

marched into cantonments ; our Battn stationd at Pondamalee. The same day Sir R. Pickerton arrived, and after seeing the convoy safe into the roads stood out to sea, it is supposed with an intention to join Admiral Hughes. Octr 30th the Bengal regt of European infantry, embarked on board the Warren Hastings, and Kent indiamen for Bengal. The 23rd regiment, (commanded by Major Genl Sir John Benjoyne) of dragoons, the 101st regt and part of the 102nd were landed at Madrass. October 18th a royal salute was fired at Fort St. George, on acct of Admiral Rodney's success in the West Indies.

We remained in cantonments until the close of the year. During this recess from action Hyder Ally died, near Arcott as generally reported of an imposthume in his back. The 2nd and 17th Carnatic Battns marched to the Northward soon after the army cantoned. Trincomalee surrendered to the french under the command of Monsr Souffrain on the 30th August. Jan 2nd 1783 the army assembled at the mount, under the command of Major General Steuart.

(Note. Here is another hiatus in the original manuscript occasioned by the lost leaves which containing merely dry details of their march renders it but of little importance. W. E. Hickson).

The Enemy's camp within sight from the top of the rock lying at Trivattour, the place where they cut off our grand guard. Feb. 12th the Enemy crossed the river and marched toward us. The same night we sprang some mines to demolish the works of Wanderwash : when by mistake of a Sergt of artillery a port fire was put to the Magazine instead of a mine which went off with an explosion which shook the earth for some miles ; by which accident about 40 people were kill'd and wounded. 13th the army marched at day-break in the Morning. The Enemy's army was in motion at the same time, seeming with an intention to attack our rear, on the supposition that we were returning to Carangoolly but as soon as they found that we were advancing towards them they retreated and recrossed the river. The front of our line came near enough to fire several Cannon shot at some large bodies of the Enemy as they retreated. Encamped at Neddingull. 14th Retd to Wanderwash : our Battn had the rear guard this day, vast bodies of Horse pressed hard upon our rear, and threw a vast quantity of rockets, but did very little damage, about a dozen men were wounded by them. 15th Halted to complete the demolition of Wanderwash. 16th marched to Illampaddy : expected the Enemy on our rear, but they kept at a great distance. 17th marched to Carangoolly. 18th & 19th Halted, destroyed the fortifications of Carangoolly. When the garrison of Carangoolly joined the army I had a letter from my Brother, which one of the Serjeants had had near two years, thinking I was at Bombay. 20th march'd to the bank of the Paliari, near Chingleput. 21st marched to Nadacapett. 22nd to Manimungulum. 23rd to Cunditore or Cawoon. March 3rd marched to Terriore. The day very hot, great numbers of the 101st Regt, who stood the expedition to Wandewash beyond expectation, now dropt on the road, unable to proceed. This night the important news arrived that Genl Matthews had taken the Fort of Hyder Naggur the capital of the Bednure Country by storm the 30th Jany. 4th marched to

Ramanacherry ; fired a royal salute in consequence of the above Intelligence. 5 Halted. The following account was published in orders this day.

“ the Commander in chief having recd further particulars of Genl Matthew's successes has great pleasure in communicating the same to the Army. After taking ——— and Oriore, with upwards of 5000 of the Enemy kill'd & taken, and 4 ships of the Line built or building with a great number of smaller ships, he effected a landing at Condipore, and took it with a 64 Gun ship on the stocks there. Brigadier Genl Matthews next proceeded to the Gant, by an ascent of 7 miles, fortified judiciously by strong Barriers and Batteries, & Breast works, and two foots mounting 60 pieces of cannon of different Bores, defended by 1500 dismounted troopers, 1500 regular Sepoys and 1500 match lock men. He succeeded and carried the whole by his good conduct and the bravery of his troops. The Fort of Hyder Nagurr opened its gates without firing a gun, altho' it has 70 pieces of Cannon with an infinity of military and other stores. Genl. Matthews has released 3 Battns of Sepoys taken in Coll Baillie's action and elsewhere.”

6th marched to Chini Arcaut near Neddumburra. 7th encamped between Trittany and Shollingur, heard this day that Tippoo was marching towards the Changamah Pass.

8th marched to the Shollingur Pass. 9th marched to Cheear. 10th to Villour. 11th halted : the 14th Battn marched into Vellour and the 5th join'd the army 12th marched to Lallpett, sent a detachment into Arcot, which the Enemy had abandoned some days before, after springing some mines in the Citadal wall, which damaged part of the South & East side of the Fort. 13th halted : sent some Bullocks to Vellour with grain found in Arcott. 14th Marched and encamped near Covenpank. 15th encamped at Ballibose. 16th marched between the villages of Ballibose Trincolm and encamped at Parabamum. 17th at Cockalore plain. 18th at Villout, 19th halted 20th near the mount. 25th Saw 2 line of battle ships and two Frigates under sail in Shore a little to the Southward of our encampment, and a Snow at anchor opposite the Camp. The Snow weighed anchor about 8 O'clock and stood to the Northward, she was pursued into Madrass roads by the Ships who fir'd a great many shot at her and some into a Danish vessel which was lying in the roads. They proved to be French vessels which had brought a reinforcement to Cuddalore. A large dutch ship which had been cut out of Cuddalore roads by the Medea frigate, standing close in to get under cover of the Guns of the Fort ran a ground, and could not be got off. The Medea Frigate was in the roads at the time and seeing the Ships did not answer her signals she weighed and stood to the Northd, the Enemy pursued her, but she was presently out of sight, and got clear off. Apart 4th fir'd a Salute for the Capture of Mangalore on the 9th of March.

13th Admiral Hughes with his Squadron arrived at Madrass. 16th 12 sail of Indiamen and transports, conveyed by a 50 Gun Ship arrived at Madras. A few days after their arrival the Duke of Athol, indiaman by some accident

took fire and burnt all night, the next day she fir'd guns as Signals of Distress, and just as the mess of War's boats got round her she blew up by which accident great numbers perished. During our stay here detachments were continually going with rice to Chingleput, April 19th the 5th Brigade, and one regt. of Cavalry marched. 20th a detachment of 200 Hanoverians joined the army. 21st The army marched to Chini Permacoil. 22nd to the Southd Bank of Paliari. 24th the 4th Brigade and one Regt. of Cavalry with the army's rice and battering train marched. 26th the 3rd Brigade, with one regt of Cavalry marched. 28th heard of Sir Eyre Cotte's death at Madras. 30th the remainder of the Army marched to Madrantium, where the 3rd Brigade was encamped.

May 1st marched to Ackerewanke (leaving the 3rd Brigade) where we joined the 4th & 5th Brigade except 2 Battns. who were at Permacoil, which the Enemy had destroyed and abandoned. May 2nd marched to Permacoil except the Europeans and 2nd Brigade, which encamped about half way: the Europeans being so fatigued with the heat as to be unable to proceed any further. 3rd joined the army at Permacoil. Lay here till the 16th, repaired the Fortifications, and left the 4 Battns., except the Grenadier's Company to garrison it. 16th marched to Killinore.

The 20th Battn marched to the sea side to Coryenier, where the active Frigate and Resolution were arrived from Bengal with 100 European artillery, and rice for the Army.

The Looty Horse began to hover round the encampment. May 28th the army marched to Nellinore. The 5th & 20th Battns to Pondicherry. The Grenadiers of the 4th Battn with two 6 Pounders were left at Killinore with rice which was landed from the Resolution and ported them in a Pagoda. 30th the 3rd Brigade, with one Regt of Cavalry, marched to Killinore, and brought the rice left there to camp. June 2nd the army marched to Shingercoil, leaving the Grenadiers of the 4th Battn. at Villinore Pagoda with rice. June 3rd marched to Manambodie. 4th the 4th Brigade, with one regt of Cavalry marched to Villinore, and exorted the rice to camp.

The Enemy's horse lay so close to our Camp that they threw stones at our out sentries in the night. Saw the French camp the East ward.

- This day the water came down the Paniar river, on the N. Bank of which we lay, and raised the river near three feet perpendicular in a few hours occasioned by the periodical rains above the Ghaats. 5th halted. 6th March'd to Trenanagoody. 7th march'd to the Eastward till we came into the roads that lead to Cuddalore from Tritchanopoly, when we turned to the Northward and came down to the bound hedge of Cuddalore so unexpected by the Enemy that several of the Gentlemen and others at the head of the advanced Guard were in their Bazaar before the Enemy discovered them. Had the whole of the advanced Guard marched on we should have in all probability got possession of the bound hedge with a very trifling loss but Lieutt. Coll. Cathcart ordered the Battn. to halt, and only one Regt. (without guns) of Cavalry to advance which was soon driven back by the Enemy's Guns posted behind a sand bank.

Encamped about 3 miles to the Southward of Cuddalore in two lines, the right of the first line reaching to an arm of the Sea which runs up from Cuddalore parallel with the shore, being only parted from the Ocean by a long sand Bank. The rear line about 900 yds. in the rear of the first ; the left of which extended to a rising ground, and thick jungle near Bandipallam. There were eight vessels at anchor.

(Note. Here is another sheet lost here. The army lay there till the 13th, without in any way incommoding the French who were endefatigably employed in erecting Batteries, Redoubts, etc. by which the English threw away all the advantage they had gained by coming to the Southward instead of attacking them on the North side, where they were strongly fortified. At last dispositions were made for attacking the French works.—W. E. Hickson)

On the 13th the attack began a little before Sunrise by the firing of the 18 pounders from the Ports on the Hill : we could hear the French drums beat to arms. The Ports of the Enemy's most advanced on the left were soon carried, by Col. Kelly, in the 4 Brigade, and the Grenadiers. The right and centre then advanced towards the Enemy's works. The right halted in a Palmyre Tope about a mile from their works, and began to cannonade which was returned from three Batteries of the Enemy with so much advantage that we were forced to draw back our Guns, and take the best position we could for the security of our troops, as it was not intended to assault the Enemy's works on this quarter, but only to divide their attention and draw off : part of their force from their principal Port, which was a Redoubt in the centre of their Works, on a commanding ground, with plenty of Cannon and flank'd by other Posts in the rear. The centre division of the Army reinforced by the Hanoverians (the 16th Regt. having landed some days before) advanced to the muzzles of their Guns and were so warmly Received by the Enemy that the 101 Regt. gave way just as they entering their Works : this occasioned some confusion in the other troops, and the other troops, and the whole retreated. The French advanced from their Works to pursue them but the Grenadiers with the 4th Brigade having succeeded on the left, and coming up on the rear of the French in the critical minute, they were obliged to give way in their turn, and our troops got possession of their principal Redoubt, tho' with very great loss. The Enemy retreated in good order, coming to the right about several times, and firing at our troops who were pursuing them. Our troops afterwards pushed on and got possession of another work nearer the Fort in which were 9 Guns, but were so much exposed to the fire of the Enemy from their other works that they were obliged to abandon it ; and the Enemy drew off their Guns from it, and all their other supports in the night and retired into the Fort.

During the action Admiral Hughes with his Squadron came down from Ports Nova, where he had been watering and anchored opposite the landing place and Monsr. Sufferien with the French fleet was discovered in the offing, hovering on and off.

(Note. Here another leaf is wanting: the reader will refer to a letter to Mr. Sutton at the back of his Book for the continuation the details from the letter are added. W. E. Hickson).

During the action Sir Ed. Hughes who had been watering the Squadron at Porta Nova, came down and anchor'd opposite the camp. We went immediately to work to turn the French redoubts and intrenchments to serve for our approaches to the place. Not the least doubt was entertained but that the whole French force in India would have fallen into our hands but we soon saw a reverse which excited the highest degree of shame in every Englishman's heart and reflected disgrace on the British arms. It is a tender point to speak on, and I do not pretend to any knowledge in Maritime affairs; but the facts are stubborn things. How the Gazette may tell the Story I do not know but the truth was this: the Admiral's duty at this time (I think) was confined to two points, viz. to protect the landing of stores, and provision for our army, and to prevent any relief from being thrown into the Fort. To effect this he had such a squadron that I believe never appeared in these seas before. How well he performed it let himself tell. The 16th at noon the French squadron consisting of 14 ships of the line, 4 Frigates, and a fire ship appeared to the Eastward towards the shore. Having the advantage of a sea breeze our Fleet weighed and stood towards them; next morning no appearance of either. About noon the French fleet appear'd opposite again to the East: there was but little wind, so that they were almost all the afternoon in getting into Cuddalore roads, where they anchored. No appearance of Huges. The 18th in the morning saw our Fleet a long way out at sea. The boats had been passing and repassing all night between the French fleet and the Fort. Soon after our fleet appear'd the French got their Squadron under weigh and stood out towards ours: they were manuvering all day. The next morning (the 19th) the French Fleet was close in off Cuddalore, no appearance of ours. The 20th both Fleets were out of sight: about noon the French appear'd in the offing and soon after ours at a very great distance. About 5 O'clock we could see the Smoke rising from them, but at so great a distance that we could not hear the Guns, and but just discover the Ships. 21st no appearance of either Fleets. We continued running a covered way at about 700 yds. distance from the Fort, without any interruption; and could see them busily employed in raising their Glacies, and putting the place in as good a posture of defence as possible. Our parties work'd within musquet shot of the Enemy, but no molestation on either side. We took 16 pieces of Cannon in the French Works on the 13th, 3 of which were English three Pounders, which they had taken in a Ship going to the Southward. Among the prisoners was Bussy's Son who was wounded in the thigh. 22nd no appearance of the Fleet which we thought the more remarkable as the sea breeze blew strong, which it had not done since the 16th. In the evening saw a large French vessel close in shore to the Northward. 23rd in the morning we saw this vessel at anchor off Cuddalore, and the whole French Fleet off Fort St. David. They worked up and anchored off Cuddalore, all but one ship which came and anchored opposite our camp. 24. No appear

ance of our Fleet. The French fleet remain in the same position except that another Ship came and anchor'd off our Camp. Great numbers of boats passing and repassing between their Fleet and the Fort. They bore some marks of having been in action as they had lost two top masts and two or three top gallant masts.

25th about three in the morning the French (to the amount of 2000 Europeans and 600 Sepoys as reported) sallied out upon our works. They got close to the trench before they were perceived, and a part of them passed the Parapet and formed within the works, while another body of them passed round the right of the Trench, but they were so warmly Recd by the 24th Regt of Bengal Sepoys, who were on duty in the trenches, and the outlying picquets coming up to attack them, that they were forced to retire, with great loss.

We took upwards of 100 prisoners (most of them wounded) among whom was the Coll who commanded them ; great numbers were killed in the retreat. We took 500 stand of arms. On one side the loss was very small.

Major Catgrave who commanded the outlying Pickets was kill'd and Lt Grubler who commanded in the 20 Regt with 5 or 6 Privates. Captn Williamson who commanded the 24th Regt was wounded, and another officer wounded and missing. The 20th Regt lost 2 stand of colours. No appearance of our Fleet. 26th. This morning we fired some shot from our field pieces at the working parties of the French, which made them withdraw immediately within their Works. The Enemy returned us two shot for one in the course of the day : we recd no damage. 27th no appearance of our fleet. We exchanged now and then a shot with the Enemy in the course of the day. 28th no further progress in our works for some time past. Rice grows very short in camp. 28th just before dark saw a vessel standing in from the Eastward ; the French vessels gave chase, when it stood to the North'd. 30th in the morning saw the vessel which the French chased over night at anchor in the middle of the French Fleet with any English Ensign flying at her stern, and a French Jack at her masthead, by which we took her for a flag of truce. This revived the report of a Peace which had been some time (2 months) prevalent in Camp. July 2nd Mr. Sadler 2nd in Council, and Mr. Stanton Governor's secretary came out of Cuddalore to the General, with the news of their having agreed to a cessation of arms with the French, which was accordingly accomplished. Genl Stewart ordered to Madras and Genl Bruce to take the Command. 3rd the English vessel sailed for Madras. 14th Genl Stuart embarked for Madras. July 22nd a detachment was formed under the Command of Coll Stewart to march to the Southward consisting of the 78 Regt, a detachment of 210 rank and file, with a detachment of officers from the Hanoverians. The Madras European Infantry, the 6th Grenadier corps of the Tritchanoply detachment. The 16th and 21 Battns with two 18 Pounders, two 12 lbs. and 4, 6 Pounders.

The 2nd, the army marched under the command of Coll Gordon ; Genl Bruce having gone on board for the recovery of his health.

Encampd at Bawon the N. W. of Cuddalore.

Aug 3rd halted. 4th marched to the red hills. 5th halted. 6th marched to Killinore, 7th to Tirudivanum. 10th to the South bank of the Polliar near Chingleput. 15th a detachment under Lt. Coll Elphinstone, consisting of a detachment of the 101st and Hanoverians equal to 471 ranks and file, with the 8n. & 15n. Battns marched to Madurankium to join the Southern army. The remainder of the army marched at the same time towards Madras. 16th the detachment march'd to Perrumbere a little to the Southward of Ackery wanke. 17th to Permacoil. 18th to Killinore, 19th marched to the left of the red hills and marched on the South bank of the river that runs by Waldowe. 30 or 40 of the Enemy's Horse left Waldowe just as our advanced guard approached it. Here is a ruined Fort which has had a French and Glacis, at present it is placed within the walls.

The village inhabited, the Horse not molesting the country people. 20th crossed the Paniar river, near a village call'd Rumbaucane, encamped about 3 miles N of Trividy. A great deal of land cultivated and inhabitants in the villages; a long march. 21st marched thro' Friday and encamped about 2 miles from it, on the South bank of the Goodalum. The Hircarrers informing the Coll that if he marched further he had a Jungle 10 or 12 miles thro' without water. A party of the Enemy had lately quitted Trividy, great numbers of dead horses lying on the ground, 22nd passed the Jungle by a road which Hyder had cut. Encamped at Nancatumpett. But one tank, and the water of that very bad. No inhabitants, the country entirely desolate. 23rd marched by Bowangurry, crossed the river and encamped about 4 miles N. West of Chittenbowin. 20 halted, 25 marched to Shaddy Tope, encamped at the end of a large gut of water from the Coleroon. 26th marched to Nattamungulum, encamped by the side of another large body of water from the Coleroon. 27th march'd thro' a very thick Jungle, where were some Polygar guards, encampd at Gundacundepocane by a large Pagoda, of a particular construction.

A great many Inhabitants in the different villages in the Pollams, and plenty of cattle. 28th marched thro' a thick Jungle to the banks of the Coleroon, the waters of which were falling a great pace, as we could discover by the banks. Came into the road yesterday that Coll Stewarts detachment had took, and continued on it. 29th marched to Tootoor. 30th to Tiwongambur. The Gutts from the Coleroon being very full and the ground being of a clayey soil, made it excessive bad marching, more particularly it being showery weather. 31st marched about 4 miles to Trimur waddy, a large Pagoda on the banks of the Coleroon where some grain and cattle for the detachmt was come over from Tanjour. Sept 1st marched to Poaloor and to Pittrandywel, from whence the 15th Battn embarked on the 3rd in the morning and crossed over to the Island of Leringham. The Hanoverians cross'd the same day. 4th the 101st artillery and our Battalion crossed the river. 5th crossed the Caveri and encamped under the walls of Tritchanopoly or the Madura face. 7th marched about 3 miles, and encamped at the fine rocks S. W. of the Fort. 8th a 20 Pounder, two 12 lbs, 2 6 lbs and some Howitzes joined the detachment. 10th marchd to Amapett. 11th to Manatam. 12th the detachment the march except our Battalion which halted. 13th our

Battn returned to Amapett. 14th to Tritchanopoly. 15th at 2 in the afternoon marched to Taomagoody. 16th near Vellum. 17th to Tanjour Remained at Tanjour till the 27th. In the mean time forwarded a large quantity of Shot etc. for camp. While we lay at Tanjourn heard that Genl Stuart had been dismissed and that Coll Lang was appointed Lt. General & Commander in chief.

The 27th we marched at 3 in the afternoon with 2 howitzers and a large quantity of stores and arrack. The Bullocks have been pressed in the country, and being unaccustomed to drawg. it was the noon of the 28th before the rear guard reached Vellum about 6 miles. 29th marched to Tringaiapetta. 30th to Touragoody. Octr 1st to Tritchanopoly. 2nd & 3rd halted.

(Note. The original manuscript ends here. When its author arrived in England it was perfect, and was carried up to the time when he sailed from the East Indies, but all the leaves which follow in this place are lost. What is now inserted on the next pages consists partly of extracts from his letters to his Brother and some other particulars collected verbally from him. W. E. Hickson).

The 10th day they came to Dindegull and found the Army gone to the Westward. Came up with the army on the 20th and continued marching to the Westward. After various difficulties in cutting their way through the almost impenetrable jungle, or forest, of Anamully, nearly 20 miles through, the army arrived at the Fort of Palagatcherry on the 2nd of Novr. This fort mounted 29 Guns and was defended by a garrison of 400 men. On the 13th two heavy Batteries of 6 Guns each were opened one on the East, the other on the North face of the Fort, by which the Enemy's fire was soon silenced, and their defence destroyed. At night Capt Maitland with a party of the 4 flank Battns under his command, took advantage of a heavy rain to drive the beseiged from the Covert way. He was so fortunate as to succeed and pursued them within the first and as far as the second gateway ; there he was stopped, but maintained his ground with great spirit and ability until an addition of troops arrived. The enemy was so much alarmed by this mode of attack that they call'd out for quarter, and put us in possession of a Fort capable of making a long and desperate resistance. 50000 Pagodas were found in this place, besides a considerable stock of grain, powder, shot, and other military stores. A report of a peace being concluded with Tippoo very prevalent in Camp. After the reduction of Polygatcherry the army commanded by Coll Fullerton, fell back with the wood, but not by the same road, being more to the Northwd 24th the army cleared the wood, no sooner had we entered the plain but a body of the Enemy's Cavalry appeared in front. A party of them skulked behind some bushes and made a charge between the advanced Guard, and the head of our Line, where they kill'd and wounded some stragglers, and carried off one horse belonging to the Quarter Master Genl. Encamped before Combatoor, another of the Enemy's Forts. 26th a river runs between the Fort and the ground we encamped on the 24th marched about 5 miles down the river to a ford, there cross'd and came up again towards the Fort and shortly after took possession of it. Heard that the

Cominander sent word to Coll Fullerton that Peace was absolutely concluded but that if he demanded the Fort he would surrender it without fighting. Dec 3. 2 of Tippoos Horsemen came in with a flag of truce, brought back our Quarter Master's horse : they said that Peace is concluded. On our march here the Enemy's horse hovered round but did not venture near. The Army had no sooner got to the East of the wood than the inhabitants all abandoned their villages ; they are now beginning to return to their Habitations. They had no idea of any other method of carrying on a war but the barbarous and destructive method which Hyder followed of burning and distroying ; now they find themselves protected in their persons and properties, and the country will soon be repeopled. 21st there is a commission gone from Madrass to Sermgapataum to conclude a peace with Tippo. 25th. Eight o'clock at night I eat my Christmas dinner in the midst of a wood, at least 1000 times as large as Dedmansee : no mince pies, however I had some rice cakes and turtle doves cooked, under the shade of a large Ebony tree. A very sober Christmas, no liquors in camp except a small quantity which came from Cochin and that at the very moderate of 12 Pagodas per dozen. Jan 5th 1784 Captn Gibbings is promoted to Major, and Captn Dunwoody is appointed to our Battn ; he rejoined the army yesterday, so that I am satisfied the war is over and when we shall be ordered to garrison. 10th marched among the hills after a Polygar Rajah who has paid no tribute to Hyder these 4 years, and now we have the country will pay none to us. 11th we had a smart engagement with him in which we had about 60 people killed and wounded. 22nd lay some days at a village where the engagement took place ; the Enemy continually showing themselves on the mountains daring us to come up after them. There is a famous Pandarim residing on a rock near the plains to whom it is a point of religion, to send a young virgin every year, sometimes as far as from Tanjour and Tritchinopoly : by this means he has a large Seraglio, and after keeping them as long as he pleases, he sends them to beg about the country, the rest of their lives, and yet so infatuated are these poor wretches that they deem it the greatest honour. 16th marched to Cumbolum, a small fort to the Westward of Pilney. 17th collected rice in the adjacent country. The 1st and 19 Light Infantry arrived here from Polygatcherry which place we have abandoned. 20th our Battn received orders from the commander in chief to proceed to Madura with all possible expedition. Feb 1st yesterday we relieved the 10th Battn in Madura, so that at last I am in garrison again, after having been in the field since Jany 1780. On the 11th March a treaty of Pace was finally concluded and settled with Tippo Saib.

Note. The manuscript ends here but there are many more pages in the copy written by W. E. Hickson in 1820 of which the following are extracts.

"It is probable he did not remain long at Madura as his contracted time was more than elapsed and he was very anxious to return to England. * * *"

"He set out for Madras on foot from which he was distant nearly 400 miles.

When Serjt Hickson arrived at Madrass he found himself likely to wait there sometime, as there were then no Ships about to sail for England : in

this case the Letter of recommendation which he carried (from his officers) with him proved of great service. The first situation he got into was as one of the writers in the Office of Town Major. He afterwards became the town Corporal ; a station, in which, had he been disposed to dishonesty he might have made considerable property, as the person who possessed it before him had drawn the pay of soldiers who had been dead 20 years or more and it took a long time before he could reduce the accounts to a just and equitable state.

Whilst at this town he got acquainted with a whimsical genius of the name of Robert Burn who some time afterwards wrote him several Letters from Madrass. Coll Sydenham offered him almost any situation he would chose either in the military, (even to an Officers commission) or the civil department if he thought proper to stay, but he was bent upon going, and no tempting offer could induce him to alter his resolution. Sir Ed. Hughes arriving at Madrass and intending to sail direct for England, Serjt H. resolved to go in his Ship. How long he was on the voyage is not known but he arrived in England on the 3rd May 1785, having been absent 7 years.

He brought with him the son of Coll Sydenham, whom his father had entrusted to him. For taking care of this youth during the voyage, and placing him safe at a school in England, he received an order on a house in London for 40 Guineas, besides which Coll Sydenham defrayed the expences of his passage home."

Some old unpublished documents of the French India Company from the Pondichery Archives.

TOWARDS the close of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, after the re-arrival of the French India Company for the second time in Chandernagore ; they tried their best to obtain permission for trade and to set up business and establish factories, and same privileges as the Dutch Company enjoys. For the establishment of their trade, they needed acquire lands, erect their own factories and get occasional help to defend themselves from the other European rival companies, especially the Dutch.

After strenuous efforts for several years, by writing, sending representatives, and by paying necessary presents to the ruling monarch of the land, they had been successful in obtaining the royal grants from the Great Moghul-Emperor Aurangzib, and his subordinate Nawabs of Bengal, and Dacca and by their Dewans.

The firmans, Parwanas and other titles thus obtained, as well as, all the title deeds and pattas of acquisition of the aldees or villages forming the colony of Chandernagore, after the seize and capitulation of Chandernagore in 1757, all came into the hands of the English in Cassimbazar, where they had been transferred and were never returned. The Pondichery archives has now got only the French translations of those documents.

For readers interested in the affairs of the early introduction and the settlement of the French in Bengal, the land where the fortunate Britons had the first taste of their subsequent glory and from whence their momentous march to Plassey took place baffling the dreams of the great Dupleix. I quote the exact English reproduction of the interesting documents supplied to me for my research work regarding the history of Chandernagore. (1)

Parwana or letter of Ibrahim Khan, Nawab of Dacca sealed with his own stamp written to M. Deslandes on the 20th of the month of Chaban in the 33rd year of the rule of the Emperor Aurangzeb, which corresponds to 29th May 1690, date written in French on the back of the original and on several other copies.

I have read with great care the letter sent to me some days ago, on the plot of land bought by you in the aldees or village of Boroquichampur

(1) The spellings of the proper names are reproduced exactly as in the original.

for which I gave an order sealed with the stamp of the Cazi to your vakil concerning the house of the Englishman Dabisse which you hired from Mulla Abdulhady the owner of the said house. I have written a Parwana or letter to Mir Mahamad Anbar to forbid and prevent the Dutch from giving you tributes in the construction of the house so that you may build it safely and peacefully.

Another Parwana of the said Nawab written to the officers and clerks of the village of Boroquichampur, on the 20th of the month of Chaban in the 23rd year of the rule of the Emperor Aurangzeb which correspond with the 29th May 1690, date written in French on the back of the original.

29th May, 1690.
Chandernagore.

A few days ago the Vakil of the French Company informed us that the Director of the said company had brought a piece of land of 61 Bighas in the village Boroquichampur and he has the patta or document of sale of the said piece of ground.

The Director of the said company while constructing a lodge in the said piece of land, the Dutch trouble him and prevented the success of his enterprise ; in consequence of the patta sealed by the Cazi and with the consent of the Dutch pleader (Vakil) we have certified that the said piece of land belonged to the said Company of France, so it was just that the Director of the said Company should finish his undertaking and you should leave him to carry on his trade peacefully according to the custom of other Companies. If the Dutch still persists you will prevent them, be prompt in this matter.

Dastok or permission from Mirhallyheebur faussedar or Magistrate of Hughly, ordering the Dutch not to trouble the Director of the French Company in the matter of the building the house, on the 22nd of the month of Ramzan the 34th year of the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb which corresponds to the year 1691.

1691.
Chandernagore.

Formerly we received a Parwana from the Nawab Ibrahim Khan on the 25th of the month of Gemadousamy the 33rd year of the rule of the Emperor or 1690 in which it was written that the French and the Dutch companies were enemies in relation of trade ; that the Director of the French Company wished to build a lodge near a garden belonging to the Dutch proximity which gave rise to their quarrel and war. If the Director of the French Company wishes to build his dwelling place in the dependancy of Hughly, it should be in some other more remote piece of ground so that there may be no dispute and that he may live in peace with the Dutch, on which the Director of the said French Company stopped the work ; but a few days after he received a second Parwana on the 10th of the month of Ramzan of the 34th, year of the reign of the Emperor or 1691 that following the Pata sealed up by the Cazi and with the consent of the Dutch Vakil the 61 Bighas of land belong to the French Company ; it is lawful that the Nawab should grant the said Parwana to the Director of the said Company and the Dutch should be forbidden to cause him troubles in any thing whatever.

What we are also doing by the present Dastok ; besides it is stated in the said Parwana that the Director of the said Company has hired the house of Dabisse Anglois from Mulla Abdulhady the owner of the said house. The Director of the said Company can repair the said house build his lodge and defend himself against the Dutch if he is still troubled by them.

Firman of the Emperor Aurangzib on the 14th of the month of Safar
 1693. of the 36th year of his reign corresponding to the
 Patna. year 1693 allowing to carry on trade of the French
 Company in the kingdoms of Bengal and Orissa and in the province of
 Behar & Patna.

Some days ago His Imperial Majesty had been informed by the petition of Kefaet Khan Dewan and by the Governor of Muxudabad that Mr. Deslandes, the Director of the French Company in Bengal wished to set up his business in the kingdoms of Bengal & Orissa and in the province of Behar or Patna. If His Imperial Majesty is pleased to grant him a firman for setting up his said business which he promised to this effect—a present of Rs. 40,000/- for the Emperor and another of Rs. 10,000/- for the Governor of Muxadabad without prejudice of commission or other present which is the custom to pay every year. It is why Kefaet Khan Dewan should take a Mauzoulka bond or a written pledge from Mr. Deslandes by which he would promise to pay the duties at the same rate as the Dutch and make the present which he had promised as soon as the firman of His Imperial Majesty would be given to him for settlement of his own trade in Bengal, Orissa & Behar, a copy of which Mouzoulka Kefaet Khan would take care to send as soon as he would receive from Mr. Deslandes.

Parwana of Ibrahim Khan Nawab of Dacca and of Kafaet Khan Dewan
 1693. sealed with their stamps granted for the same subject
 Patna. (topie) on the 16th of the month of Jemadoularul
 of the 36th year of the rule of the Emperor Aurangzeb or 1693.

It is made known to all officers, clerks and all the people of the custom houses of Bengal & Orissa.

The petition which Mr. Deslandes has presented before His Imperial Majesty for the settlement of his trade and dwelling houses in the kingdom of Bengal & Orissa and in the province of Behar waits upon so as the Emperor should grant him a firman similar to that of the Dutch on condition of paying Rs. 40,000/- which he had promised to the Emperor. We therefore grant him the present Parwana similar to what we have awarded to the Dutch provided that he promises to pay the above mentioned sum of Rs. 40,000/-. His vessels can therefore cast anchors in Hugly, Ingely, Baleswar and in other places where he will consider suitable after paying the custom duties at the rate of the Dutch ; he can transport his merchandise where he will think fit, sell to whom he wishes, buy from whom he pleases and take as broker whom he will judge proper and buy in the kingdom of Bengal and Orissa and in the province of Behar or Patna linen, sugar, wax, silk, saltpeter and other commodities, send where it will please him ;

that no body is to cause him uneasyness neither to trouble him in his trade nor to ask him custom duties so that he can drive peacefully his said business and send ships at the first monsoon ; that he would not side with those to whom he would lend money ; on the contrary you will compel them to pay, ships will no longer be captured by force even if it were for the service of the Emperor. People will cause no difficulty on the way when he will send men for his business, who will walk about as long as they wish, will stop and will remain where they will judge fit. They will send no guard to his ships neither seize nor visit his vessels ; on the other hand at the dastok or permission you will let them go because he has received the firman from the Emperor similar to that of the Dutch. Thus you will co-operate with him as you do with the Dutch.

Parwana of the Nawab of Bengal, Governor of Muxudabad of the 3 of the month Robioulaval the 37th year of the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb corresponding to 1694, bearing permission to set up the trade of the company of France and of correspondants in the realm of Bengal and in the environs up to Baleswar Piply, and other places.

1693.
Baleswar Hughly.

Let it be known to all officers, clerks, Zemindars, Jaigirdars, Casugos and all the men of Muxudabad custom houses and other places at present on duty and to those who will be in future. The French Company has obtained on the 14th Safar of the 36th year of the rule of the Emperor Aurangzeb a firman from his Imperial Majesty and Parwana from Kefaet Khan, Dewan of the Emperor and us on the settlement of his trade and lodges in the kingdom of Bengal and in the environments so that the said company of France can take for correspondants whom they will think fit can buy or sell from whom and where they will judge to be proper, can send merchandises from Baleswar, Piply and anywhere else to Hughly and those from Hughly to Baleswar and other places without anybody's asking or exacting custom duties from them neither those of Kattebara or ships neither arrest nor search his commodities nor capture his ships by force even if it were for the service of the Emperor and last of all that it will not take the party of those to whom it would lend money ; on the contrary you will make them pay, it will pay the custom duties in a fixed place at the same rate as the Dutch and at the dastok or permission of the Director of the said French Company the commodities sent by their correspondants will be allowed to be borne because the said company has got a firman from His Imperial Majesty so that effect similar to that of the Dutch.

Parwana of the Dewan of Muxudabad sealed with his seal on the 7th of the month of Jamadeoularal in the 37th year of the rule of the Emperor Aurangzeb which corresponds to 1694 bearing reduction of duties to 4% on the substances of gold and silver at the same rate as the Dutch.

1694.

Let it be known to Mir Ibrahim Hussain, the chief of coinage of Akharnagore or Rajmal.

I received the letter which was written to me concerning duties on matter of gold and silver which the French Company sends for coining at Akbarnagore. The duties that the Dutch pay being 4% namely 3% for the cost of coinage, $\frac{3}{8}$ for the duty of the Emperor and $\frac{5}{8}$ for the and other expenses. I request to exact henceforward only 4% as the Dutch pay from the Director of the French Company in matter of gold and silver which he will coin because he has received a firman from the Emperor similar to that of the Dutch.

Parwana of the same to Mr. Deslandes on the same topic on the 7th of the month of Chival in the 38th year of the rule of the Emperor Aurangzeb which corresponds to 1695.

Mr. Deslandes is the Director of the French Company I carefully read the letter you sent me some days ago. You told me that the duties which the Dutch pay on the substances of gold and silver which they coin at Akbarnagore are 4% viz. 3% for the cost of coinage, $\frac{3}{8}$ for the Emperor and $\frac{5}{8}$ for the and other expenses and in matter of gold and silver that you send to be coined at the said place of Akbarnagore you are made to pay 4/8% viz. 3% for the cost of coinage, $\frac{3}{8}$ for the Emperor and $\frac{5}{8}$ for the and other expenses, you requested me to write to Mir Ibrahim Hussain to exact only the same duties of 4% as the Dutch pay in the matter of gold and silver that you send to be coined in Akbarnagore. I have therefore written him that henceforward he should take only the said duties of 4% at the same rate as the Dutch pay and as a consequence of the great firman you received from the Emperor.

Parwana for the Nawab of Bengal sealed with Kefaet Khan Dewan of His Imperial Majesty on the 7th of the month of Zekad in the 39th year of the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb corresponding to 1696 addressed to Mir Muhammad Hussain Magistrate of Hughly ordering the French and the Dutch not to carry on war in the kingdom of Bengal.

Let it be known to Mir Muhammad Hussain that some days ago the Vakil of the French Company reported us that last year there came six vessels of the said Company of France to the roadstead of Baleswar and the Director of the Dutch had spoken you it is true that Holland is at war with France but till now the Dutch have no quarrel with the French in the country and neither wish to have it in future on which you have sent word to the Director of the French Company that the Director of the Dutch Company being in peaceful disposition if he is satisfied of taking advantage of it what he accepted in addition then each of the two Directors must write a Mousaulka or a written pledge to which the Director of the said Dutch Company consented and the said Directors had each given reciprocally a Mousaulka signed by the Cazi, but this year the Director of the French Company having despatched two vessels loaded with cargo to France, the Director of the Dutch Company has at once brought four or five men of war and has sent them to the mouth of the Ganges from

Cajo up to Gangasagar to capture the two vessels of the said French Company. The present Parwana is being sent to prohibit the Dutch to commit any act of hostility and prevent them from declaring war in the country. If they do not follow the orders that you give them to this effect you should at once write to us ; be prompt in the matter.

Parwana from Sedaikan Nawab of the province of Behar or Patna on
 1696. the 21st of the month of Raviassani in the 39th
 Patna. year of the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb which
 corresponds to 1696 bearing permission to carry on trade in Patna and
 other places of his government.

Let it be known to the officers employees of the town of Patna and to all the Zemindars, Zaigirdars and men of Custom Houses of the province of Behar.

As the French Company has not received the firman from His Imperial Majesty supporting the settlement of his lodges and trade in the countries of Hindusthan similar to that of the Dutch, taxes should be exacted from the said French Company at the same rate as the Dutch pay so that they can carry over commodities where they will think proper, sell or buy with whom or where they wish, take for broker whom they will judge fit ; they can buy saltpetre and all other things of merchandises in the province of Behar and in the environs in Bengal or elsewhere and from Bengal to Patna that nobody is to ask them duties on the way neither seize their ships, extort some presents nor lay hold upon the said vessels by force even if it were for the service of the Emperor ; they will not side with those to whom they will lend money ; on the contrary you will make their debtors pay, they will not visit fleet. No guard will be seen on board the vessels ; no duty of Kattabara however great or small will be realised either on the vessels or on the bazaras because all these are strictly forbidden to us from the side of the Emperor. Thus you should deal with the French Company as you are accustomed to do with the Dutch—Pay attention to what I write to you.

Nichan Zicham from the son of the Emperor Aurangzeb on the 8th of
 the month of Rageab the 41st year of his rule which
 1698. corresponds to 1698. The Nichan Zicham is emanated
 Patna, from the son of the Emperor as the firman is from the
 Emperor himself and the Parwanas from the Nawabs and Dewans.

Mr. Deslandes, Director of the French Company having begged for obtaining a Zicham from His Imperial Majesty similar to that of the Dutch, the Emperor would have accorded him the present Nichan Zicham.

It is apprised that the French Company can cast the anchor of their vessels at Hughly, Ingely, Baleswar and in other places and after they would have paid the duties at the same rate as the Dutch they can sell their commodities to whom they wish, take as broker whom they will judge proper, buy goods in the country of Bengal and Orissa and in the province of Behar, that nobody is to arrest or capture their vessels by force even

if it were for the service of the Emperor so that they can drive their trade peacefully.

Parwana of Saik Arrabkan sealed with his stamp on the 21st of the
 1699. month Rajeab the 42nd year of the reign of the
 Patna. Emperor Aurangzeb which corresponds to 1699.

It is announced to all officers employees and all the people of the Custom Houses of Bengal, Orissa & Behar at present on duty and to all those who will be in future.

Mr. Deslandes the Director of the French Company having obtained the firman from the Emperor and the Parwana of the Nawab Ibrahim and that of Dewan Kefaet Khan for the settlement of his commerce and the lodges in the kingdom of Bengal & Orissa and in the province of Behar or Patna similar to those of the Dutch it is why we have granted him the present Parwana.

Their vessels can therefore cast anchor at Hughly, Ingely, Baleswar and other places where they will think fit after paying the custom duties they can transport commodities, sell or buy in all places and with them whom they like, take for broker whom they will judge proper and they can buy in the said countries of Bengal and Orissa and in the province of Behar, linen, sugar, wax, saltpetre and other commodities to send elsewhere, that no body is to hinder them or detain and search their vessels or ask them the custom duties so that they may carry on their trade peacefully and send off their vessels at first monsoon. They will neither side with those to whom they would lend money ; on the contrary they should be compelled to pay. There will be no difficulty on the way when they will send people for their business men who will walk about and take up their abode where they will judge proper and no vessel shall be taken even it is required for the service of the Emperor because this is strictly forbidden to us by His Imperial Majesty.

Parwana of Mussukulikhan, Dewan of the Nawab of Bengal, on the
 2nd of the month of Rajeab the 1st year of the
 October, 1707. Emperor Farosquier or of the month of October,
 Cossimbazar. 1707(2) according to the note written in French
 on the back of the original addressed to M. de la Bat, Director of the French Company giving permission to set up again the factory and the commerce of Cassimbazar.

I have received the letter which you have sent me by which I understand that you have sent away your correspondent to revive the commerce and the factory of Cassimbazar ; that the vessels of the French Company have arrived at Hughly and that wheat, butter and other provisions were sent to you from Cassimbazar that the officers of the custom house of the Ganges have detained your ships against the rights and privileges granted by the Emperor to the said Company of France. I have sent an officer

(2) Ferockshire ascended the throne in the year 1713. If this date (1707) is correct, it is not understood to whom does it refer.

with a dastok or permission to release them with order to conduct them up to Hughly. You can send back your correspondent to the factory of Cassimbazar and be convinced that I will have respect for him and of the said Company of France as I do.

Parwana of Jaserkhan Nasery, Nawab of Bengal sealed with his stamp
of the 21 of the month of Rabioularal in the 3rd
year of the reign of the Emperor Mahamoutcha
1720. which answers to 1720.

It is made known to all officers, employees and all men of the custom house of Bengal & Orissa at present on duty and all those who will be in future that by the firman of the Emperor Aurangzeb and by the Parwanas of the ancient Nawabs and Dewans the French Company is ordered to pay the duty at $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ with the Jijia (3) at the same rate as the Dutch ; when they would pay the duty according to the firman of his Imperial Majesty their ships can then anchor at Hughly, Ingely, Baleswar and in those places where they will think fit, sell and buy from whom they like, take as broker whom they judge proper and make purchases and forward to all countries without anybody's asking or exacting the custom duties nor seize their commodities or vessels as we are strictly forbidden by the Emperor.

Some years because of the war which the French maintained against the English, the Dutch and other European nations Mr. d'Hardancourt, Director of the said Company has come a short time ago with order to set up again his commerce, as the Dutch have obtained from the Emperor Faresquier a firman reducing the duties to $2\frac{1}{2}\%$. Mr. d' Hardancourt has sent his vakil to us praying to grant him a Parwana sealed with our stamp in which the duty of $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ to be reduced to $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ at the same rate as the Dutch with the intent to which he promises and binds himself to pay Rs. 40,000/- to the Emperor and Rs. 10,000/- for the Nawab of Bengal. Having received Rs. 10,000/- we have granted him the present Parwana similar to that of the Dutch till he has obtained a firman from the Emperor.

We let you know by this present Parwana that henceforward you should exact from the French Company only $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ and that nobody is to detain his vessels and merchandises neither to cause any trouble in his commerce as we are strictly forbidden by the Emperor, we shall apri~~se~~ you of the rest when we shall receive the firman of His Imperial Majesty.

Parwana of Abdur Ratsimkhan, Nawab of the province of Behar or
of Patna on the 4th of the month of Maharam in
1720. the 3rd year of the rule of the Emperor Mamud
Patna.

(3) Nita. This Parwana was the only one where mention is made of the tax Jijia which is as head tax. It was abolished in the kingdom of Bengal By the Emperor Aurangzeb at the request of the prince Azemdara his son, formerly Nawab of Dacca who levied the Cazena or the tax on lands. This is what has been gathered on the Poll tax Jijia which is seen mentioned with surprise in the Parwana granted long after the death of the Emperor who put an end to it and change it as it afterwards come to be known as tax on lands.

Shah which corresponds to the year 1720 supporting the revival of the business of Patna obtained by Messrs. Caesar and Bourlet d' Hervillins.

Let all officers, employees, Zamindars, Zaigirdars and all men belonging to the custom house of the town and of the province of Patna and of the environs know that a few years after paying the custom duties at the same rate as the Dutch the said Company has set apart the factory of Patna because of the injustice of the Nawabs and Dewans who have preceded us. The Company intending to restore their commerce in Patna it is why we grant them the present Parwana so that by paying the custom duties according to the old firman of His Imperial Majesty they have obtained, they can send forth commodities where they think proper sell or buy with him and where they will please, can also buy in the said province of Patna and in the neighbourhoods saltpetre and other goods to send off where they like that nobody is to ask or exact custom duties from them detain his merchandise search them or their ships or take from them the Kattebara tax for all that is severely forbidden by the Emperor so you should deal with the French as you do with the Dutch—Pay attention to what I write to you.

Translations of six receipts of various sums paid for getting the following firmans on

No. 1.

We have received the present of 10,000 current rupees that Mr. Deslandes, Director of the Company of France had sent and placed in the hands of Mir Mahamud Akbar for erecting houses in Bengal, Orissa & Behar or Patna on the 1st Rajeab 1104 of the hegira year of the 36th year of the Emperor Aurangzeb, it is why we give the present receipt to help him in time and place.

No. 2.

Received by Meterdas a gentle merchant the sum of 5,000 current rupees on the 14th of the month of Ramzan 1105 of the Hegira year and 38th year of the rule of the Emperor.

No. 3.

Received by Mr. Deslandes, Director of the French Company the sum of 5,000 current rupees on the 25 of the month of Ramzan 1106 of the Hegira year and 39th year of the rule of the Emperor.

No. 4.

Received by Meterdas a gentle merchant the sum of 10,000 current rupees on the 27th of the month Zethege 1108 of the Hegira year and of the Emperor 41st.

No. 5

Received by Meterdas a gentle merchant the sum of 5,000 current rupees on the 14th of the month of Ramzan 1109 of the Hegira year and of the Emperor 42nd.

No. 6.

Received by Meterdas a gentle merchant the sum of 5,000 current rupees on the 6th of the month Ramzan 1110 of the Hegira year and of the rule of the Emperor 43rd. Rs. 5,000/-.

Parwana of Jeaffarkhan Nawab of Bengal granted to Mr. Dupleix in the name of the French Company reducing the custom duties to $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ at the rate of the Dutch on the 23rd of the month Jamadoula in the 14th year of the rule of the Emperor Mamud Sah which answers to 1731.

Formerly Emperor Aurangzeb has granted to the French Company a firman which allows it to carry on trade in Bengal & Orissa and in the province of Behar or Patna and elsewhere paying the same duties as the Dutch. The Company has also obtained the Parwanas of the Nawabs and Dewans of Bengal to that effect but Mr. Dupleix Director of the said Company having promised a present of Rs. 40,000/- to the Emperor and another of Rs. 10,000/- to the Nawab of Bengal ; wishes well to have for it a firman from His Imperial Majesty by which the duties of the said company which were formerly paid at the rate of $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ be reduced henceforward to $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ as the Dutch pay, the Director of the said Company having paid Rs. 10,000/- as present to the Nawab Jeafarkhan to get his parwana in his grounds we grant the present parwana to the said company not to delay their trade which awaiting for the firman from the Emperor.

It is announced to all officers, employees, zemindars, zaigirdars and all the people of the custom houses of Bengal, Orissa Behar and of the environs at present on duty and to those who will be in future neither to take nor to exact the duties of the French Company at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ as the Dutch pay neither to ask or call for any other duty on the way, not to detain or search their ships or goods neither seize the said vessels by force nor otherwise even if it was necessary for the service of the Emperor because all these are strictly forbidden by His Imperial Majesty.

Parwana of Aliverdikhan Nawab of Patna on the 2nd of the month of Rageab in the 17th year of the rule of the Emperor Mamud Shah granted and obtained by Mr. Groiselle the head of the factory of the said place giving permission to re-establish the commerce and the factory of the said place the date given below answers to the month of December 1734 according to the note written on the back of the original.

It is proclaimed to all officers, employees, zemindars, jaigirdars, kangos and to all the people of the custom house of Patna at present on duty and to all those who will follow in future.

The Company of France wishing to re-establish the commerce in Patna we have granted them the present parwana to this effect when they would pay the custom duties according to the firman of His Imperial Majesty who orders to make the French Company pay the same duties as the Dutch pay ; they can transport their goods where they will think fit purchase from him whom they will please take him as broker whom they judge best

and sell to whom they like. They can also purchase in the said kingdom of Patna Saltpeter, opium and other commodities to send forth in Bengal and elsewhere that no body is to ask them custom duties, to detain or visit their goods and ships neither to collect the Kattebara too on the said vessels nor on the great or small bazars because the said company has got a firman from His Imperial Majesty similar to that of the Dutch.

1725. Aldees or villages of the company which compose
Chandernagore. the colony of Chandernagore.

Parwana of Camarondinkan more known under the name of Camoidiban Vizir of the Emperor Mamud Shah on the 19th of the month of Zehija the eighth year of the rule of the Emperor corresponding to the year 1725 written on the subject of inhabitants of aldees of the Company.

It is announced to all the officers, employees of Hughly and of Satgan at present on duty and those who will come hereafter.

Some days ago the Vakil of the French company has declared to us that the officers and employees of Hughly and of Satgan ill-treated the inhabitants of the Aldees of the said company although they pay the rent ordered by his Imperial Majesty and that because of their injustice these inhabitants far from habituating themselves in the said Aldees left their abodes which would bear a great prejudice to the company and its commerce. We let you know therefore by the present parwana neither to take or henceforth collect only the rent as regulated according to the statute of His Imperial Majesty on the aldees, not to ill-treat the inhabitants neither to force to get more of it. Be careful that we write to you. (4)

(To be continued.)

HARI HAR SETT.

(4) I avail this opportunity to convey my sincere thanks to Monsieur Gerbenis—His Excellency the late Governor of French India, for his kind instruction to the archives for supplying me the copies of the documents. To late Mons. A. Singaravelon the curator of old documents in the archives of Pondicherry, who has kindly taken all the troubles personally of searching and copying the required papers and sending them to me free of charge, and also to Srijut Kristo Lall Pal, M.A., of Chandernagore for taking the trouble of translating them for me from French.

Books on the Table

FALL OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE. By Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt. C.I.E.
Vol. I, 1739-1754; Vol. II, 1754-1771. M. C. Sarkar and Sons,
Calcutta 1932 and 1934.

In William Irvine's *Later Mughals*, edited and brought down to 1739 by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, we have the history of the decline of the Mughal Empire from the time of Aurangzeb to the sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah. Sir Jadunath is now carrying on the story down to the conquest of Delhi by the British in 1803. Of the two volumes before us, the first deals with the years 1739-54, that is from the departure of Nadir Shah to the deposition of the debauched Ahmad Shah, while the second continues the narrative from the accession of Alamgir II down to the return to Delhi at the end of 1771 of the banished and wandering Shah Alam II. Attention is necessarily confined to Northern India, or Hindustan proper, and largely to the north-central and north-western portion thereof, where the influence of the Mughal or of his Wazirs, or 'keepers', as they have appropriately been termed, was to some degree still felt. The story is suitably divided into chapters on a two-fold basis, viz., according to (1) the provinces and areas involved, and (2) the leading actors on the stage for the time being. Reference to the Eastern Provinces is practically confined to the incursions of the Marathas—of which a concise, but excellent survey is given—and the fruitless activities of Ali Gauhar in those parts. The Marathas are, of course, constantly in the lime-light, and the numerous campaigns and plundering expeditions of their "locust swarms" are related with exceptional insight and precision.

The seeds of decay in the Mughal Empire had been sown during the reign of Aurangzeb, but even under his weakling successors, though outlying provinces were shaking themselves free, at least the semblance of control by the central government was maintained for some three decades; but the crumbling edifice was shattered by the shock of Nadir's ruthless onslaught, and thereafter the disintegration of the empire went on unchecked. Asaf Jah had established an independent state in the Deccan; the Marathas had made themselves masters of Gujarat, Malwa and Bundelkhand; Saadat Khan had become practically independent in Oudh; the government of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, which had acknowledged the suzerainty of Delhi by making fitful remittances of revenue, was usurped by Alivardi Khan, who soon assumed an attitude of independence. The Marathas were emboldened to extend their depredations across India to the

Hooghly and northwards to the walls of Delhi; the military power of the Sikhs, organised by Guru Govind, was growing apace; the Jats of the Bharatpur area had been consolidated by the astute Badan Singh into an important power; the Afghans and Rohelas settled in parts of what is now the Bareilly division seized for themselves wide areas in those fertile tracts. As the central control was collapsing each of these powers took the opportunity to extend their territories at the expense of their neighbours. Northern India became a maze of conflicting forces and sects, almost bewildering in its complexity. It is an era of kaleidoscopic changes, of faction and intrigue in the enervated emperor's entourage, of pitiable rapine, devastation and slaughter, indeed of horror piled upon horror, as Sir Jadunath writes in respect of his second period. The land had not recovered from the effects of Nadir's ravages and cruelties when the Abdali, Ahmad Shah, commenced his long series of invasions (1747-1767), culminating in his decisive victory at Panipat, where the power of the Maratha confederacy, then at its zenith, was irretrievably broken. On the final retirement of the Abdali the road was cleared for the rising Sikh power to gather strength and push into the Doab, and for Shujau'd-daula—the nominal ally of the Afghan king—to retire into Oudh and strengthen his own position against the future, in which he was destined to play so important a part.

To write a connected history of this tangle of events is enough to tax the ability of any historian; and Sir Jadunath must be congratulated on the eminent success with which he has performed the task. He has qualifications possessed by no previous historian. In addition to his grasp of the conditions of the time, and of the topography of Northern India as a whole—an indispensable foundation—his acquaintance, not only with Persian but also with Marathi and other vernaculars in which the records of the period are written has enabled him to draw upon a large mass of material which others had not been in a position to study. In fact the special value of this, as of his other historical works, lies in the wide research made for contemporary material in Persian and the vernaculars, as well as in the European archives, and in the historical acumen and independence of judgment with which he has sifted and utilised these records. We have here a very well written, fully attested, account of the pitiable turmoil, nay chaos resulting from the collapse of central control. It is a story crowded with tragedy, but we hope it may be widely read because it teaches a grave lesson—a lesson for the present and for the future.

The volumes have been carefully printed: typographical errors are very few. We may note that Ghotauli (vol. II, p. 537) should read Gothauli. For Caillaud's route (vol. II, p. 540, n.) from the Patna district, after the battles of Mushinpur (not Masumpur) and Sherpur, across country to the Burdwan district in pursuit of the Shahzada, the stages will be found in Archibald Swinton's journal (see the *Swinton Family Records*, Edinburgh, 1908, privately printed, pp. 22f.). The names therein given, though many are strangely transcribed, can all be identified with the help of Rennell's

original large scale (5 mi. to the inch) sheets. Caillaud proceeded through Barh and Daryapur to Rahua Nala (near the modern Lakhi Sarai) and thence more or less southwards to Mahadeo Simaria, and on to old Gidhaur (Qasba Gidhaur, about 6 mi. S. by W. of modern Jamui, going on SE. to Dumri and through the Batia-Bamdah gorge to Chakai; and so on.

C. E. A. W. O.

THE VOYAGE OF THOMAS BEST. Edited by Sir William Foster, C.I.E.
Printed for the Hakluyt Society, London, 1934.

Though a temporary factory had been established in 1611 at Masulipatam by Peter Floris in the Seventh Voyage to the East Indies—that of the *Globe* commanded by Anthony Hippon—the first permanent factory on Indian soil was that settled at Surat in October 1612 under the agreement made with the Viceroy of Gujarat by Captain Thomas Best, who commanded the Tenth Voyage (1612-14), that of the *Dragon* and *Hosiander*. This latter voyage has therefore always held a place of special importance in the annals of the E. I. Company, an importance which was enhanced by Best's fine victory over a portuguese fleet. The successful establishment of a factory at Surat, due chiefly to the competence and firmness of Thomas Aldworth, the chief factor, so aroused the apprehension of the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa that a fleet of four galleons and a large number of frigates was despatched under Nuno da Cunha to destroy Best's two vessels. After four distinct gallantly fought engagements Best succeeded in completely defeating this superior force, with trifling loss on his side, an achievement which raised the prestige of the British in those seas. So far Best had indeed deserved well of his employers; his subsequent action, however, exposed him to disapproval. Sailing from Gujarat in the beginning of 1613 down the west coast of India and round Ceylon, he reached Achin in April, passing on to Tiku in July and Bantam in November. On the 15th December, leaving the *Hosiander* behind, he sailed from Bantam in the *Dragon* via the Cape of Good Hope, St. Helena and the Azores, arriving in the Thames exactly six months later. His reception, when all had been disclosed, was a mixed one. He had not visited the Moluccas, as his instructions required; he had engaged largely in private trade in his own behalf and had permitted others to do likewise; he had, in fact, as was reported at one of the meetings of the Court, "deserved extraordinarily well and yll."

Sir William's unrivalled knowledge of the records of the E. I. Company has enabled him to amplify Best's very dry and laconic journal (the sole entry on many a date being the record that such and such a member of the crew died that day) by printing other accounts of the voyage and of the events connected with it. We have the Journal of Standish, the surgeon, continued by Croft, the purser; extracts from the accounts of the ship masters Salmon and Bonner, and from those of Copland, the chaplain, and

Nicholas Withington, who sailed as an attendant on Best. In addition to these, there is a translation of Bocarro's account of the naval engagements with the Portuguese, copies of relevant letters written by factors and others, and, most interesting of all in many respects, extracts from the Court Minutes of the Company, which are unfortunately incomplete at this period. A comprehensive introduction, explanatory foot-notes and a good index enhance the value of this admirably edited volume.

THE FIRST CENTURY OF BRITISH JUSTICE IN INDIA. By Sir Charles Fawcett, Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1934.

No complete history of the administration of justice by the British in India has ever been written. Since the time "when the wisdom of Parliament embraced the subject of the government of India," as James Mill expressed it, and the Regulating Act of 1773 established a Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta, material for such a history is voluminous and readily accessible, but for the previous century and a half or so laborious research among the old records of the Company and documents preserved in the Public Records Office and elsewhere is required. Sir Charles Fawcett, himself a distinguished judicial officer and for many years a Judge of the High Court in Bombay, has applied himself to this task, and has compiled the history of what he calls the first century of British justice in India, being an account of the Court of Judicature at Bombay, established in 1672, and of other courts of justice in Madras, Calcutta and Bombay, from 1661 to the grant of the *Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the Company in 1765.

Owing to the terms of the royal charter granted in 1668 by Charles II when he made over the Company the fort and island of Bombay ceded to him by Alphonso VI, Bombay was the first settlement to have a special Court of Judicature for the administration of British justice to the people. Sir Charles has devoted considerable space to a very full account of the establishment of this court by the able and statesmanlike Gerald Aungier, and of its working under successive presiding judges. The accounts of the courts at Madras and Calcutta are more brief and with less personal details.

In the pages relating to Bombay, interesting sidelights are thrown upon the conditions prevailing at the period, and the conduct of the affairs of the settlement. We get an insight also into the characters of many of the men who played leading parts: of Aungier, the real founder of Bombay's greatness; of George Wilcox, the first judge; of Thomas Nicolls, and his disputes with John Child and his Council; of Henry Gary's somewhat chequered career, and his alleged connexion with rebellious Keigwin; of the independent Dr. John St. John, who was sent out by the Company as Judge of the Court of Admiralty; of John Vaux, whose tomb serves as a landmark to mariners approaching Surat, and the circumstances that led to his dismissal; of the autocratic Childs, and of disputes between the executive and judicial

branches of the administration, that were destined to culminate later on in Bengal in the days of Hastings. Whatever were the shortcomings of the local courts and of individual officers from time to time—and Sir Charles does not minimise these—it is gratifying to notice the evidence in this volume of the sustained solicitude of the Company's Directors in London for the constitutional and impartial administration of the laws.

The charter of 1668 not only provided for the establishment of courts on English lines, but also—and this is not generally known—gave authority to the Company to frame their own 'laws', 'consonant to reason, and not repugnant to or contrary to, but as near as may be agreeable to the laws' of England. One of the most interesting discoveries made by Sir Charles is that of a copy of the Company's 'laws' promulgated under this sanction, which he has reproduced (pp. 18-28). The trials, be it noted, were to be held with a jury of 12 Englishmen, except when any party to the dispute was not English, in which case the jury was to be half English and half non-English. Trial by jury, in both civil and criminal cases, in fact began in Bombay and Madras in 1672, and 1678 respectively.

Sir Charles's thorough examination of the original records, has, moreover, enabled him to correct many mistakes made by previous writers on the early history of Bombay, as also to repudiate some depreciatory statements that had gained common credence. The excellent index is most useful.



TOMB OF COLONEL THOMAS WHARTON
AT KANAUI

From a Photograph by Mr. C. L. Wallace, I. C. S

The Editor's Note Book

WE have received from Mr. C. L. Wallace, the Collector of Fatehgarh, a photograph (which we reproduce) of the tomb of Colonel Thomas Wharton which stands on a high mound on the old cliff of the Ganges at Kanauj. Colonel Wharton commanded the 5th Regiment of Bengal Native Cavalry, which he raised at Ghazipur in 1800, and was drowned in the Kali Nadi on January 21, 1802, with his horse and his dog, while endeavouring to cross the river in flood. His wife, Sophia Paulina Skardon, whom he married on July 12, 1789, was the daughter of Samuel Skardon, a deputy commissary in the Ordnance Department, who died at Fatehgarh on October 30, 1788; and sister of Mary Skardon, the wife of Captain Richard Ramsay, the man who deserted after the battle of Bitaurah in 1794 and about whose career we had something to say in this place about a year ago (Vol. XLVI, p. 59). Wharton was second in command to Ramsay at the battle. Mr. Wallace writes:

The tomb overlooks the spot where the Kali Nadi formerly flowed into the Ganges, and is two miles east of Serai Miran. In September 1835 Mrs. Fanny Parks visited the place on her way to Fatehgarh and in her book "The Wanderings of a Pilgrim" describes the officer as a colonel but does not mention his name. From 1802 onwards the pyramid was regularly whitewashed to serve as a navigation mark for boats coming up the Ganges from Cawnpore to Fatehgarh. It is still whitewashed regularly by the Collector. The small tomb on the right is that of the dog: and between them a glimpse can be obtained of the rounded top of the horse's tomb. On the four tapering sides of the pyramid the dim outlines are visible of armorial bearings. Both tablet and inscription have vanished; but the zemindar, Pandit Debi Din, has informed me that he wishes to replace them. The tomb probably overlooks the spot where Major Nairne stuck a tiger with his hogspear and Lord Lake finished him off with a pistol shot (see Thorn's "History of the War in India").

The son of Colonel Wharton, Thomas Ramsay Wharton, who died at Patna on August 19, 1849, at the age of 58, is described on his wife's tombstone at Ghazipur as "late of 8th K. R. I. Hussars".

MR. WALLACE also contributes some most interesting recollections of Sardhana as he knew it when Joint Magistrate of Meerut in 1919; and particularly of the old Afghan Nawab who then resided there and who had ridden to Delhi with Nicholson in 1857. He was a thoroughgoing devotee of the "Nikkalseyn" cult, and having a splendid memory was able to describe the siege and the appearance of the British officers in great detail. Nawab Saiyid Ahmad Shah was descended from Hayat Ali Musa Raza whose family was expelled from Afghanistan on account of services rendered to Alexander Burnes in his mission to Kabul in 1836. The family settled at Sardhana and in 1857 Jan Fishan Khan, the then head, raised a body of horse which served under Nicholson at Delhi. He was made a hereditary Nawab, and on his death in 1864 was succeeded by his son, who died in 1874 without issue and was followed by his uncles Ali Shah and Ahmad Shah who died about 1921. Ahmad Shah left Afghanistan when about four years old and settled at Peshawar, from which place he rode with Nicholson to Delhi. The Begam Samru is still well remembered at Meerut. When it rains outside the city and not in it, the story goes that the old lady has put her umbrella up over the city. Her marble bathroom is the chief sight of the Palace, and much of the furniture of the rooms is evidently contemporary in date.

ANOTHER tomb in the Fatehgarh district which is whitewashed yearly by order of Government is that of Colonel John Guthrie, a square of brickwork situated in a grove in sight of the high mound which represents all that is left of the fort of Thathia, in Tirwa tahsil. In 1801 Fatehgarh was ceded to the British. The Raja of Thathia rebelled in 1803 and his fort was besieged by them on September 30, 1803. Guthrie was struck by a spent ball and died on October 18. The inscription is remarkable because he is described thereon as a "Peer of the Mogul Empire". He raised the 1/16th Sepoys in 1787 and took them into their first engagement at Thathia. The regiment was known as Guthrie-ka-paltan and was the 3rd Brahmans when it was disbanded in 1919. Guthrie accompanied the Daniells in their expedition into Garhwal in 1788, when he was a captain in the 33rd Sepoys.

WE are able to announce a discovery of some importance in connection with William Hickey the diarist, which reveals him in a new light, as an artist. There has been found in the possession of a lady in London a series of architectural sketches in water-colour of houses etc. in Calcutta Streets, signed "William Hickey, Calcutta, 1789" and interleaved with descriptions in the same handwriting. Hickey's talent in this line was hitherto unsuspected: two architectural sketches from his diary were reproduced in Mr. Spencer's edition, but they are not included in this collection. We

hope to give full details of the new discovery in *Bengal : Past and Present* in the near future.

AN extremely fine example of the coloured engraving of Zoffany's "Cock Match" has been acquired for the Victoria Memorial Hall. The inscription is as follows: "J. Zoffany pinxt. R. Zoffany's "Cock Match". Earlom sculpt. Colonel Mordaunt's Cock Match at Lucknow in the Province of Oude in the year 1786 at which were present several High and Distinguished Personages. Published 12th May, 1794 by Laurie and Whittle 53 Fleet Street, London, successors to the late Mr. Robert Sayer". The mezzotint by Sayer was published in 1792. The picture represented is the version painted by Zoffany for Warren Hastings. It is now in the collection of Sir George Sutherland.

AN old controversy is recalled, and a long-standing historical doubt apparently resolved, by Miss Cornelia Sorabji's memoirs, published in 1934 by Nisbet & Co. In 1890 much correspondence appeared in "The Times" regarding the well-known story of the skirling of the bagpipes at Lucknow, and the possibility of their having been heard in the Residency as Havelock's Highlanders advanced to the relief. The story that the pipes were first heard by one Jessie Browne, perpetuated in the popular poem, was most circumstantially reaffirmed in a letter to "The Times" signed by one "M.D." of 29, Maiden-lane, Strand. "I think a confirmatory and corroborative statement of the fact that the sounds of the bagpipes were heard as stated, first by the Highland lassie, but also by another of the women, a person of the name of Emma Gaffney, who was one of the besieged, and she avers that the statement is a correct one, she herself having distinctly heard them," (1) he writes: "I may add that my informant is a witness in herself of the ordeal passed through on that occasion, she having a cicatrix just under the right eye, of the point of a bayonet thrust inflicted as the women rushed into the last place of safety that could be found for them. If anyone would like to hear the woman's story for themselves, they can find the informant at 24, New Church-court, Strand, directly opposite Somerset House."

In another letter Mr. L. E. Ruutz Rees, the former master at the Martiniere school at Lucknow whose diary of the siege ("A Personal Narrative of the Siege of Lucknow", London, 1858) is a standard authority, expressed his belief that the story was a myth. In his view it was "to be attributed to Gallic imagination . . . it first appeared in a French newspaper (if I remember right, it was the *Phare de la Loire*) from which the English newspapers eagerly copied it. A name was then given to the heroine, she was called "Jessie Browne", and the air she had heard was fixed upon to be "The Campbells are Coming".

(1) In this sentence some words are missing from the original, but the meaning is clear.

NOW, forty-five years later, Mr. Rees's beliefs are confirmed by Miss Sorabji. After referring to "The Times" correspondence in 1890, she continues (pp. 39-40): "The story was, it will be remembered (everyone believed it to be history) that Jessie, a Scotch girl, had sensed the approach of the Relief by her gift of second sight, and encouraged the besieged garrison to hold on, thus saving the situation." The Times correspondents were wrangling over Jessie, some saying she was alive and claiming her as a maid, others equally claiming her, but saying she was dead.

The Secret Revealed. I was staying in London at the time with Miss Adelaide Manning (the daughter of Sergeant Manning), who said, "This is very funny, there's only one person who knows who Jessie was; and she has not written to "The Times". Would you like to see her and see her story?" I said that I should love to do that. So we made an expedition to a suburb of London, and found a dear old lady sitting by the window in her charming room. She had pink cheeks and wore her snow-white hair in curls under a lace cap. She looked very French, but was English, the widow of one of Talleyrand's secretaries. Miss Manning said, "Writers to "The Times" are quarrelling over "Jessie of Lucknow"; and told her about the correspondence. She flushed with delight. "My Jessie", she said, "Still alive?" "Will you tell my Indian friend her story?" She complied at once and with evident pleasure. She said that her sister was married to a Colonel in the Indian Army; that the Colonel and his wife were both with the besieged garrison at Lucknow in 1857; that when the little force was at the very end of its strength, Lucknow was relieved by a Highland detachment. Mme. X— was in Paris when her sister's letter arrived, telling her all this. She was thrilled and sent the story (enlarging it and inventing "Jessie" to make the tale more picturesque), in the form of a letter purporting to have come from India, to a Paris paper. How she chuckled over the true and honourable women who claimed to have pensioned or buried this fictitious person!

"Do write the truth to "The Times"," said Miss Manning. "Never!", said the delicious old lady. "My Jessie is alive, has lived all these years. How can you expect me to say that she was never born!" I believe "The Times" had traced the tale to the French paper in question; but could get no information from the then control about the writer of the letter."

MR. EDWARD PALMER has in his possession the original *sanad* of the Emperor Shah Alam, conferring the title of Begam on Bibi Faiz Baksh, the Indian lady who was the second wife of Bibi Faiz Baksh's Sanad. Lieutenant-General William Palmer (1740—1816); and has favoured us with a translation of it. The text of the body of it runs thus:

AT THIS most auspicious time is issued the most authoritative order commanding obedience and compliance that

WHEREAS in pursuance of Our ample royal mercies and the abundance of Our imperial benefactions which are a pattern of the

favours of Almighty God, we have conferred upon Our worthy subject Faiz al-Nasar the title of Sahib Begam, exalted among the personages and nobles, and distinguished among the peers and companions of Our realm

IT IS THE DUTY of all Our illustrious distinguished noble and highborn heirs Our powerful ministers and exalted commanders all the nobles of Our glorious court and the governors of Our provinces having consideration for Our regard for the auspicious welfare of the said subject being chosen of Our royal bounty for the conferment of this title and approved for the bestowing of these names and known by these distinctions day by day and without [failing] and increasingly to do the same

WRITTEN this twenty-fifth day of the month *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah* in the thirty-seventh year of Our blessed and exalted reign.

The date, *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah* 1210 A.H. corresponds with 8th May 1796, Shah Alam having acceded in 1173 A.H.

WE have received from Sir Patrick Cadell, I.C.S. (retired), Dewan of the Junagadh State, particulars of an early European tomb, on a strip of mainland belonging to the Portuguese in front of their island of Diu, a few yards outside Junagadh territory. Sir Patrick has visited the spot, which is marked on the Survey map as "Captain Wood's grave"; and reports that the monument is very well preserved. It bears a coat of arms and the following clearly cut inscription:

An Early English Tomb
on the West Coast.

QUME GREAVET CONSERVET CAPT. MATHEW WOOD
COMMANDER OF THE SHIP WELCOME DEPARTED THIS
LIFE SEPTEMBER THE 19 ANNO DOMINI 1653.

The first three words are meaningless as they stand: but Sir William Foster has suggested "QUI ME CREAVIT CONSERVAT" as the correct reading—"He who created me keeps me safe". There is no mention of this tomb in the *Bombay Gazetteers* or in James Douglas's *Western India*; but the facts regarding Captain Wood's death are given in Sir William Foster's *British Factories in India*, 1651-1654. The *Welcome*, which was a ship of 240 tons, was despatched by the Company, with another ship the *Dove*, to Surat in the middle of March 1653. As hostilities with the Dutch were in progress, the ships were ordered to put into Diu, send word to Surat, and await the arrival of cargo from that factory. Wood was furnished with a letter from the Portuguese ambassador in London to the Governor of Diu, for whom he also brought a present of broadcloth from the Company. A letter from Surat of November 26, 1653, conveys news of the arrival of the two ships at Diu on September 1, and states that the present was duly delivered to the Governor and that Wood died of fever about a month after his arrival.

THE names of the following Calcutta firms, which are still in existence (in some cases under slightly altered designations) are to be found in *East India Register* in 1851: Apcar and Co., Gillanders
 Calcutta Firms in 1851. Arbuthnot and Co. (with two Gladstones as partners); Gladstone Wyllie and Co.; Hamilton and Co. (with three Remfrys as partners); Jardine Skinner and Co.; Kelsall Hoare and Co. (now Hoare Miller and Co.); Leach Kettlewell and Co. (now Kettlewell Bullen and Co.); McKenzie Lyall and Co. and Mackinnon Mackenzie and Co. Among vanished firms are Carlisle Nephews and Co.; Colvin Ainslie Cowie and Co.; Gisborne and Co.; James Lyall and Co. and Mackillop Stewart and Co.

BEAUTIFUL as the Victoria Memorial is, it is not yet complete. The late Sir William Emerson, the architect, included in his designs four cupolas surmounting the four corner towers; but though the
 The Victoria Memorial to be completed. marble for these was years ago cut, carved, numbered and stacked in the grounds, no further progress was made with the project owing to lack of funds and also to engineering doubts. It has now been announced that as the result of expert inquiries the cupolas are to be completed by Messrs Martin and Co. Each cupola consists of a square base with arched openings, above which are the volutes supporting a small dome. The material is to be white Mekkara marble, and it is hoped that they will be in position by about July next.

THE report of the Archaeological Survey of India for the year 1932-3 shows that steady progress was maintained despite financial stringency, which made it impossible to undertake any extensive
 Archaeology in 1932-3. excavations. Trial diggings at Harappa revealed a few more houses in the "Workmen's Quarter", recalling the famous "Potters' Quarters" at Athens of the sixth century B.C. At Taxila progress was made with the clearance and conservation of the huge Buddhist monastery at Kalawan; and an important copper-plate unearthed in the previous year has now been deciphered and studied: it apparently relates to about 76 A.D. and records the erection of the shrine by a female lay-worshipper. Another monastery was discovered at Nalanda, and some 75 bronze and stone images and other objects of antiquity were found. In Southern India 489 stone inscriptions and six copper-plate grants were examined, the earliest of the latter was of the 7th century A.D., of the eastern Chalukya king, Vishnuvardhana III. Other activities included much useful work by the Archaeological Chemist, who treated over a thousand antiquities of various kinds and advised on the conservation of many others. He also made a beginning with the scientific preservation of the Mogul paintings and drawings in the museum at the Delhi Fort.

THE 'Statesman' of January 18th last announces the discovery, by Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan, Deputy Director-General of Archaeological Survey, of the long-lost site of the Hall of a Thousand Pillars, or *Kasr-i-Hazar Satun*, amongst the ruins of Siri, the second in point of date of the Seven Cities. The Hall is mentioned in contemporary historical documents but all memory of its site had long since vanished. In that part of the ruined city where the royal palaces might be expected to be, there were large mounds which clearly covered the remains of some important building; and Maulvi Zafar Hasan has now demonstrated that here was the *Kasr-i-Hazar Satun*. Siri was founded in 1303 by Alauddin Khilji, the foremost of his dynasty, and destroyed about 1550 by Sher Shah, its materials being largely used for the construction of the new town centring on the Purana Qila.

AMONG the many protégés of Warren Hastings was a certain Ralph Winstanley Wood. We know from the log preserved at the India Office that he came out as a Madras cadet on board the *Grafton* with Warren Hastings and the Imhoffs in 1769; and the *Genealogists' Magazine* for December 1929 (vol. V, no. 4) supplies the following additional details, in announcing that his portrait by Gilbert Stuart, the American painter, had been sold at Christie's on May 3, 1929:

Ralph Winstanley Wood at an early age ran away from school and enlisted in the "Saucy Greens" [the old 36th Foot]. He subsequently took a commission in the 8th Hussars [8th Light Dragoons] and embarked for India, meeting Miss [Mary Margaretta] Pearce on the boat: he met and became friends with Warren Hastings, who persuaded him to leave the Army: he became a salt agent and made a large fortune which he lost when his son-in-law's [Crawford Davison's] firm Bocham Taylor and Co. went bankrupt.

Miss Pearce was certainly on board the *Grafton* as a passenger for Bengal; but there is no record of her marriage with Wood in either the Madras or the Bengal registers which are kept in the India Office. Wood was certainly also in Bengal in 1774. On April 5 in that year, Richard Barwell writes to him from Dacca, addressing him as "Mr. Wood, Agent for receiving the Salt manufactured for the Hon'ble Company in the pergunnah of Salimabad, etc." (*Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. XII, p. 50: letter no. 313). Two more letters written to "R. W. Wood" in October and November 1774 are mentioned (*ibid.*, p. 68) but are not reproduced: they serve, however, to complete the identification. Barwell, as chief at Dacca, had been concerned with certain questionable transactions in salt; and he discusses the matter at great length in a letter of May 17, 1775, to his sister Mary (*ibid.*, pp. 230-232). The salt-pans at Salimabad and Duckinshawepore (Dakhinshahbazpur) which he mentions, are in the modern district of Bakarganj. In 1778 we come across Wood at the Presidency, where he had, no doubt, set up in business. His daughter Mary, who

married Campbell Davison, was baptized at Calcutta on September 7, 1778; and his son, William Warren Winstanley Wood, to whom Warren Hastings stood godfather, on January 8, 1781. There seem to have been two other daughters, of whom one was the wife of William Webber, a Bengal writer; and the other, Elizabeth, married James Taylor of the firm of Bocham Taylor and Co. at Calcutta on November 21, 1779. The name of the firm does not appear in the list of Calcutta "houses of agency" in the *East India Register* for 1798.

A LETTER to "The Times" of November 5, 1934, from Dr. David T. Wylie, states that in Armagh Cathedral there is a mural tablet to the memory of Captain Turner Macan, for many years Persian interpreter to the Commander-in-Chief in India, who died in Bengal on July 25, 1836, in which it is stated "To Him is Owing the First Perfect Edition Of Her Great Poet Ferdousee." Major H. Bullock informs us that he recently saw in Brenchley church, Kent, another tablet to a Persian interpreter: "Colonel Patrick Hay, H.E.I.C.S., 4th son of Thomas Hay, Lord Huntingdon, of the Court of Session, Scotland, and uncle of Sir Thomas Hay who succeeded as 5th baronet of Alderstone. Distinguished both as a soldier and oriental scholar, he served as A.D.C. and Persian interpreter to Gen. Sir Eyre Coote during his memorable campaign in the Carnatic against Hyder Ali. He died at Eynsham Hall, Oxford, 1st April 1822, aged 73, and is buried in a vault within the church of that parish. Also in memory of Sarah his wife, 4th daughter of Robert Dashwood of Vallow-wood, Stogumber in the county of Dorset and sister of the Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Dashwood, K.C.B., K.T. and S. [Knight of the Portuguese Order of the Tower and Sword] etc. She died 19th January 1850 and is buried in the vault beneath. . . erected by their grandson J. H. Hay Ruxton of Board Oak."

Neither of these officers is to be found in Mr. Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*. There is some account of the family of Hay of Alderston (sic) in East Lothian in G. E. Cokayne's *Complete Baronetage* [vol. IV (1904), pp. 407-8]. It is not known whether Colonel Patrick Hay's nephew, Thomas Hay, ever assumed the title of Baronet, though the inscription on the mural tablet quoted above states that he "succeeded" as 5th Baronet. Thomas Hay, the elder Patrick's father, "Senator of the College of Justice" under the style of Lord Huntingdon, died February 4, 1755.

THE question, which was the earliest periodical in Bengali?—has again been attracting attention, and has formed the subject of articles in the *Sahitya Parishat Patrika*. These repeat the statement that Gangadhar Bhattacharya of Calcutta published in B.E. 1222 or 1223 (A.D. 1815-16) a *Bangal Gejet* ("Bengal Gazette") in Bengali, which lasted for less than a year.

The earliest Bengali periodical.

Mr. S. C. Sanial made a similar statement in one of his articles on the history of the Press in India in the *Calcutta Review* (1907-1911; CXXIV, 1907, p. 393, footnote, and CXXXII, 1911 p. 18); and the same view also appeared in *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. II, p. 181, in contradiction of Sir Evan Cotton's assertion in his *Calcutta Old and New* (that the first Bengali newspaper was printed at Serampore in 1818).

All these claims however appear to rest on the "Prabhakar's History of the Native Press," which is translated in the *Englishman* of 8th May 1852. No evidence before 1852 has yet been discovered; and the best evidence of all—a copy of the alleged 1815-6 *Bengal Gazette* printed in Bengali—has not yet come to light. Can any reader take the matter further back than 1852, or produce a copy or file of the 1815-6 periodical? Until this is done, its existence must be written down as "not proven."

ALLIED with this is the story of the first founts of Bengali type. Wilkins's Bengali type was first used in 1778, in Halhed's *Bengalee Grammar*. According to an interesting note in the *Calcutta Review* for 1907 (vol. CXXIV, p. 359) Bengali type at Serampore.

Wilkins instructed one Panchanan a blacksmith in the art, and in 1799 the latter offered his services to the Serampore missionaries and made for them the fount used for printing the Bengalee New Testament in 1801. The printing proclivities of Carey of Serampore were transmitted to his grandson, William Henry Carey of Simla, whose *Good Old Days of Hon'ble John Company* is well-known and of whom an interesting sketch appeared in the *Sunday Statesman* on 9th Dec. 1934, over the initials "A.E.D."

IN the 'Statesman' of November 7, 1926, was published an interesting article by the Rev. R. Bruce Dickson, describing the silver drinking cup which in 1783 was presented to Westminster School by Warren Hastings, Sir Elijah Impey, and twenty other Old Westminsters in India. It is a handsome cup some 12 inches high, and bears the names of the donors. The handles are formed by the trunks of two elephants' heads. This cup is well-known and was on public exhibition on the occasion of the bicentenary celebrations two years ago; but another similar gift seems to have been forgotten. In the *Madras Gazette*, March 10, 1810 (reprinted in Long's *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*, vol. IV, p. 236), the following passage appeared:

On Saturday the 24th ultimo (being the last Saturday in February) the gentlemen of the Presidency educated at Westminster School held their anniversary meeting at the Pantheon. The stewards on the occasion, Mr. F [rederick] Gahagan [M.C.S. 1796: d. Nellore, May 19, 1815, aet. 37] and Mr. C. [harles H.] Higginson [M.C.S. 1799: died July 18, 1824 at Trichinopoly] had provided a most

elegant dinner, and fourteen Brothers sat down to the celebration of this festival. After the removal of the cloth, the gold Poculum, presented to them by Warren Hastings, Esq. when Governor General, was filled to the brim, and the standing toast FLOREAT given by the senior steward, with three times three, after which "the immortal memory of their Royal Foundress Queen Elizabeth," "the Universities of the United Kingdom," "Brother Westminsters all over the world", "Public Schools", and several other appropriate toasts followed. The health of the Archbishop of York [E. V. Vernon, 1808-47] and Bishop of London [John Randolph, 1809-13], the Duke of Portland, the Duke of Richmond, the Speaker of the House of Commons [Charles Abbot, 1802-17], the Chief Baron [Sir Archibald Macdonald, 1793-1813] and of many other illustrious living characters educated at this great school, were also drank. The party did not separate until after midnight. Major-general Wood and Mr. H. Gahagan are appointed Stewards for the next Anniversary."

Where is this gold cup now?

AN interesting note on the MSS collections of Dacca University Library appeared in the Press in November last. There are it appears about 17,000 manuscripts, of which five thousand are in Bengali and the remainder Sanskrit. All these have been brought together since 1925 by the energy of a committee with Mr. N. K. Bhattasali as its secretary; and the total cost to the University has been only Rs. 5,000. In 1928 Mr. Bhattasali had to resign owing to ill-health and was replaced by Dr. Radha Govinda Basak; but more recently Mr. Bhattasali has been able to return to the task. presentations are still coming in daily from all parts of Bengal; and many MSS of historical interest and importance have thus been preserved from the ravages of time, climate, insects and neglect. The newspaper communiqué from which we draw these details does not record any progress made with the work of cataloguing these vast accessions: we hope that the paramount importance of this task is recognised, as doubtless it is.

A PAMPHLET, *Le Général Comte de Boigne*, by M. Maurice Besson, was published at Chambéry in 1930. The standard book in French on the career of Benoit de Boigne is the biography by St. Genis, which appeared at Poitiers in 1873. A copy was purchased in 1912 for the India Office Library, which also possesses a copy of Major Lewis Ferdinand Smith's "Sketch of the rise, progress and termination of the Regular Corps formed and commanded by Europeans in the service of the Native Princes of India, with details of the principal events and actions of the late Mahratta War"

De Boigne and the Asiatic Society.

This book, of which the Imperial Library at Calcutta also has a copy and which is described by St. Genis as very rare, is the primary authority. The words "sit mihi fas audita loqui", which are inscribed in the title-page, have never been challenged. The present publication is not likely to supplant the two works of which we have made mention; but its publication may serve as a pretext for marshalling a few facts to supplement the account of de Boigne which was given in *Bengal : Past and Present* in 1927.

St. Genis published (pp. 310, 311) the text of an interesting letter written in French to de Boigne by Sir Alexander Johnston from the "Hôtel de la Société royale Asiatique, Grafton-street, Londres" on December 12, 1829. As it gives a description of the foundation of the Royal Asiatic Society, we append a translation:—

"So many years have passed since I had the pleasure of meeting you in London about the year 1797, at the house of my old friend Richard Johnson (2), that I fear you may have lost all recollection of me. Since our meeting in England, I have been selected by His Majesty to preside over the Royal Council and to become Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the island of Ceylon. During the fifteen years which I spent in that island, I made frequent journeys on the continent and I have traversed the whole of the south of the Indian peninsula, especially the district between Cape Comorin and Madras. I took a lively interest in the researches which were being made everywhere in India into the religion, history, and customs of the Hindoos and the Mahomedans.

Upon my return from the Indies, my friend Henry Colebrooke, Sir John Malcolm and myself, uniting our efforts under the patronage of His Majesty and the most influential of the members of the Government and the Company, have established, for research into the origins and the monuments of the history and literature of Asia, a Society by the name of the Royal Asiatic Society of Literature.

The statutes authorize us to elect as members gentlemen of foreign nationality who have obtained repute on account of their special knowledge of the country which we have made the object of our studies. Every one who possesses the smallest acquaintance with the history of India, is aware that your name will always be associated, in the annals of the East, with those of the greatmen of talent and character to whom Asia and Europe alike render homage, and who deserve as much respect as admiration. Under this impression, in the interests of the Society, and awaiting your permission, I have taken the liberty of submitting your name as one of our most distinguished corresponding members. I hope, at the close of next month, in my capacity of vice-president, to forward to you the formal notice of your admission to our ranks. I take advantage of this

(2) There have been frequent references to Hasting's banker Richard Johnson in *Bengal : Past and Present*. He was not a nephew of Sir Joshua Reynolds.

We meet with no further contemporary mention of Legois, but Bourquien tells us that "poison rid her [the Begam] of the young Sombre and of Legois." His Christian name and some particulars of his family are however to be gleaned from the will made by David Ochterlony Dyce Sombre (the Begam's adopted son—see *Dictionary of National Biography*) on 25 June 1849. (This will was rejected by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in their judgement delivered on 1 July 1856 in the appeal in the case of *Dyce Sombre against Troup*; and I have taken the following details, except where otherwise stated, from the papers printed for that appeal). D. O. Dyce Sombre left Rs. 10,000 each to five of the sons of the late Captain Louis Legois, their names being John Peter, John, Charles, Francois and Joseph Legois. He also left Rs. 7,000 to Juliana, wife of John Peter Legois of Sardhana.

Amongst the appeal papers is a deposition sworn to at Meerut on 6 January 1853 by this John Peter Legois, described as aged 56 or thereabouts. In it he says that he was a captain in the service of the Begam, which he had left voluntarily some four or five years before her death (which occurred on 27 January 1836). He married the sister of George Thomas *alias* Joury [Jowruj, George] Jung, which George Thomas had died a little under four years before, leaving a widow and daughter. J. L. P. Legois went on to say that he was at present in straitened circumstances, as were two of his brothers: one of the other two brothers was in employment. He, John L. P. Legois, had been out of employment for five years; and for the last four years had been receiving an allowance of ten rupees a month from Padre Michael Angelo.

I have given some account of the family of General George Thomas in *Bengal : Past & Present*, vol. XLI, part II. It will be recalled that he had three sons and a daughter:—

1. John Thomas, married the daughter of Aga Wanus, an Armenian in the Begam's service: they had no issue.
2. Jacob Thomas, married and had one son, George Thomas III.
3. George Thomas II, married and had an only child, a daughter.
4. Juliana Thomas, married—, and had an only son Joseph, who died without issue at Agra.

The foregoing account of the Legois family gives the name, John Louis Peter Legois, of the husband of General George Thomas's only daughter; and we have seen that the fathers of this couple were old friends. It also supplies the approximate date, *viz.*, early in 1849, of the death of the General's third son, George Thomas II *alias* Jowruj Jung, a sobriquet also sometimes attributed to his father.

In D. O. Dyce Sombre's diary for the years 1833-1836, which was also printed amongst the appeal papers, he gives some extracts from old pay-rolls of the Begam's which he had occasion to examine in the course of his duties at Sardhana. One extract showed that Jean Batiste Legois received pay at 110 rupees monthly till he was "killed by M. Birjoon" on 16 August 1819. This

must have been another son of Captain Louis Legois, but the manner of his death is a mystery. We may however note that one M. L. Birjon, who died at the age of 95 on 12 June 1864, is buried in the Padres Santos cemetery at Agra (see no. 134 of the monumental inscriptions which I have listed in *Bengal : Past & Present*).

I may take this opportunity of adding a few notes on General George Thomas's sons, gleaned from the same appeal papers, and supplementary to those given in Vol. XLI of *Bengal : Past and Present*.

The wife of John Thomas, the eldest son, was named Joanna, as we learn from the Begam's will. Her father, Aga Wanus (given also as Awanis, Awanus or Abanis—all of which are perhaps variants of Johannis) is described in the Begam's will (whereby he received a legacy of Rs. 5,000) as "now in my service as Collector of Burrow." This place is to be identified as Baraut (then spelt Burrowt) in the Gangetic Doab (see Banerji, p. 134). The Aga's sister, "Maria Polli", was also remembered by the Begam in her will, being left a thousand rupees. She is possibly the same person as the widow of Colonel Pauli of the Begam's service, which lady at some time previous to the year 1197 A.H. (1783-4 A.D.) had received a pension of fifty rupees a month from the Begam (Banerji, p. 208). She may also be identified with the "Madame Potli" (*sic*) "alias Toork Jung, it being his title" whose name D. O. Dyce Sombre found amongst the old pay-rolls as receiving fifty rupees a month. Pauli, a German, was decapitated in 1782 (Banerji, p. 17) and the pension was doubtless granted to his widow soon after his death.

Jacob Thomas, the General's second son, is described in the Begam's will (executed 16 December 1831) as "now a captain in my service." He seems to have died in 1845, for in a letter from Paris, dated 18 March 1846, D. O. Dyce Sombre writes to Major Antonio Reghelini at Sardhana: "When did Jack Sahib *alias* Jacob Thomas die, and where is his son George, and what is become of his widow?" In a further letter, dated 26 November 1846, to the same correspondent, Dyce Sombre writes: "I am in receipt of your letters of the 3rd and 16th September, one of which enclosed a letter from George Thomas son of the late Jacob Thomas; from his letter it appears that he has been obliged to quit the service of the Lahore Raj." It would appear that Jacob Thomas left the Begam's service shortly before her death, for D.O. Dyce Sombre's diary for 4 August 1835 contains the entry: "Jack sent in his resignation, which was accepted of by H. H." According to Messrs. Grey and Garrett's *European Adventurers in Northern India* (Lahore, 1929, p. 319) it was not till March 1838 that Jacob Thomas entered Ranjit Singh's service; and the letter of 28 November 1846, quoted above, shows that his son George Thomas (III) followed in his footsteps by serving the Sikhs.

George Thomas II, the General's third son, *alias* Jowruj Jung, was left Rs. 7,000 by the Begam and Rs. 36,000 in D. O. Dyce Sombre's rejected will of 1849, from which we may conclude that he was alive in that year. His

wife (name left blank) was similarly left Rs. 14,000 by Dyce Sombre. In Dyce Sombre's diary, on 15 April 1835, he mentions (1) "Pedron's daughter, Mrs. George Thomas" as being at Sardhana, so either George Thomas II, George Thomas III, or George Thomas IV (for whom see below) evidently married one of the exceedingly numerous progeny of Colonel E. Pedron of Scindia's service, of whom I have given an account in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XLIII, part I (1).

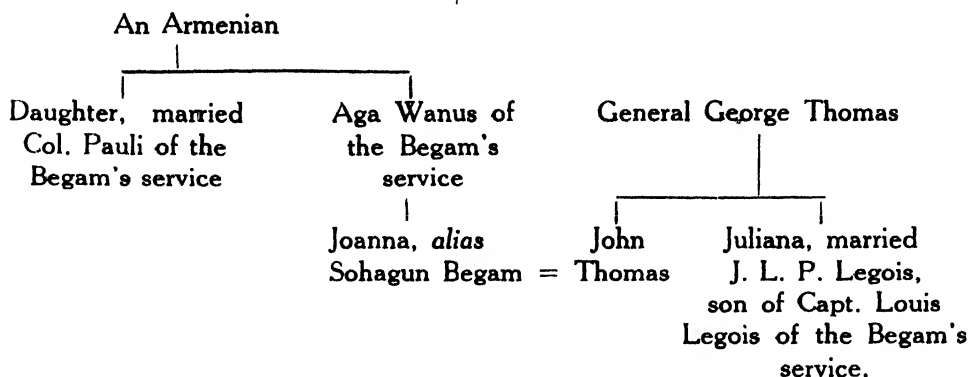
Besides his four legitimate children by his wife Maria, General George Thomas is generally understood to have left other issue whose legal status was doubtful. The appeal papers give a clue to the identity of one or two of these latter. In a deposition sworn to by Joseph Skinner "of the City of Delhi in Hindustan, Esquire", aged 45, on 10 January 1853 (a son of the redoubtable Colonel James Skinner, C.B.) he says that "Georgé Thomas [II] alias Jowruj Jung, George Thomas [III] the son of Jacob Thomas, and George Thomas [whom we may call IV] the half-brother of one John Thomas, were the descendants of one George Thomas [I] who was the Chief of the territory of Hurrianah". Major Antonio Reghelini deposed to the same effect and in practically the same words. There can be little doubt that this George Thomas IV was the son, by some other consort than his wife Maria, of General George Thomas. And in a letter from Dyce Sombre to his brother-in-law Peter Paul Marie Solaroli, dated London, 4 April 1842, he says that he has just returned from Bath, where "I saw poor John Thomas's half-sister. I enclose her writing, which the brother might like to see."

The subjoined table shows the relationship between three of the Begam's early commanders-in-chief, Pauli, Legois and Thomas. The marriage of a Thomas with a Pedron connected these with Perron, Scindia's commander-in-chief, whose daughter Catherine (d. 1818, aged 33) married Colonel E. Pedron. Through Perron the relationship extended to the two Sutherland brothers and to the two Hessings, father and son, as well as into the Derridon family with its many ramifications amongst the military adventurers. And the Pedrons were connected with the Alexanders, and the Thomases with the Martins—both families which I have dealt with in this series of articles. The whole demonstrates the extent of the intermarriage in this curious society.

We may conclude by noting that when D. O. Dyce Sombre visited Berhampore on 20 January 1837, he made an attempt to find General George Thomas's grave. In his diary he wrote: "After breakfast went to the

(1) Dyce Sombre's diary records that "Poor Pedron" died on 13 Feb. 1834; and on 18 Feb. following there is an entry: "went in, for the first time, in poor Pedro[n]'s house in Khiowa [Khirwa], although he has been here since 1829." This may have been Lewis Pedron, 9th and youngest son of Col. E. Pedron, who is known to have died in 1834. On the day that "poor Pedron" died, the diary records that the Begam "promoted Pedron's son to a captaincy, and Paschal [Reghelini, son of Major Antonio Reghelini] to a lieutenantcy"; but I cannot say which member of the Pedron family this was.

burying ground, on purpose to see George Thomas's tomb, who is buried here, but could not find it, though I searched for a long time."



XV. PIETRO PAULO MARIE SOLAROLI

As is well known, Solaroli, an officer in the service of the Begam Sombre, was married at Sardhana on 3rd October 1831 to Georgiana Dyce, daughter of Colonel George Alexander David Dyce of the Begam's service by his wife Juliana (*alias* Dominica Theresa), which Juliana was daughter of Walter Reinhardt "Sombre's" son "Nawab Zafaryab Khan" by his wife Julia Anna, daughter of Captain Louis Anthony Lefevre of the Begam's Service (2). On the same day and at the same place Georgiana Dyce's sister, Anna Maria, was married to Captain John Rose Troup of the Begam's Service and formerly of the Bengal Army.

Apart from the fact of his marriage little has however been known about Solaroli. I am now able to give some particulars of his career from a deposition sworn by him in London on 17th November 1853 (3). His age is then given as 55 years, so he was born about 1798.

He said: "I am a native of Piedmont. In the year 1823 I went to Egypt with the view of joining an expedition to Greece. That was defeated by the death of Lord Byron, and I then obtained from some British officers a recommendation and letters of introduction to go to India, to offer my services to the East India Company, who then accepted the services of officers not connected with a government having possessions in India. Thus recommended, I went to Calcutta, where I was advised to proceed to Sardhana, to take service with the Begam Sombre, which I did; arriving at Sardhana on 1st January 1831. My first appointment there, and that within a few days on my arrival, was to the command of her bodyguard. . . . My personal acquaintance with the sisters of the deceased (David Ochterlony Dyce Sombre) began by my being sent with a guard of honour to conduct

(2) See e.g. *Begam Samru*, by Brajendranath Banerji, Calcutta, 1925, p. 189; and *The Sardhana Pictures*, by Sir Evan Cotton, C.I.E., Allahabad, 1934, *passim*. The month of the marriage is incorrectly given as August by Mr. Banerji.

(3) Printed with other papers in the suit of *Dyce Sombre against Troup* for the appeal to the Privy Council (decided 1856).

them from Delhi to Sardhana, where I was married to Georgiana, now Baroness Solaroli, on 3rd October 1831; the other sister, Ann, being married on the same day to Captain Troup. . .

In the first instance, I was, as I have said, Commander of the Begam's bodyguard. Four or five months after, still retaining that appointment, I was made the head Police Magistrate of the province of Sardhana. Afterwards, the Chief Magistrate, first of half, then of all her territory. After my marriage, having given up the command of her bodyguard, I was put in charge of the management and control of the Customs and Revenue. These were all situations of high trust and honour. [The Begam died on 27 January 1836 : her army was broken up and her territories reverted to the British]. I came to Europe in May, 1843. I arrived in Turin in the following December. A few months after, I received from H. M. the King of Sardinia, whose natural-born subject I am, the rank of Colonel of Engineers. Some time after that, *viz.*, at the end of 1844, I received from H. M. a patent of nobility, constituting me a Baron of the Kingdom, and entailing that honour upon my descendants. In the beginning of 1848 I was made Colonel of the Staff of the second corps of the Army. At the end of 1848 I was made a major-general. In the campaign of 1849 I commanded a division of the Reserve. After the battle of Novara in that year, I was made aide-de-camp to the King. In August 1849 I was one of two Commissaries (the Duke of Masserano being the other) appointed by the present King to take charge of the remains of the late King, and conduct them from Portugal to Turin. In November 1849 I was employed on a financial mission to England. In Feb. 1850 I was sent on a diplomatic mission to Switzerland, Baden, Bavaria, Prussia and elsewhere. Whilst in England I was chosen to represent my native town in parliament. . ."

The latest mention of Solaroli which I have found occurs in the diary of Lady Login, printed in *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh* (London, 1890, p. 388). At Turin, on 2 May 1857, she records : "Reached Turin last evening. Baron Solaroli found us out, and came and spent the evening with us. Sir John knew him in India ; he married a sister of Dyce Sombre's, and of course has got lots of money with her. He is a very intelligent, gentlemanly man." And on the next day : "Baron Solaroli came, with his daughter, a pretty young woman, married to Count—. The Baron will bring his wife to meet us at the train tomorrow, as she is not well, and could not come to call."

We gain some further information as to his early career from a deposition made by Major Antonio Reghelini : "I am well acquainted with Peter Paul Marie Solaroli. He is my countryman. I sent for him from Calcutta. . . He was an overseer at an indigo factory in Bengal before he took service with the Begam."

When we come to Dyce Sombre's version, or rather versions, of Solaroli's career, we are by no means on sure ground. He never got on with his brother-in-law, and from 1843 onwards they were at daggers drawn. Dyce Sombre impugned the legitimacy of Madame Solaroli, and to cut short a story

too long to be gone into here, he went out of his way to insult the Solarolis on every possible occasion. In a letter written to Major Antonio Reghelini on 2 October 1842, after he had left India but before he was adjudged insane, Dyce Sombre says that Solaroli came to Sardhana in the first instance to marry Reghelini's daughter, but Solaroli and Reghelini quarrelled. The former went away; but shortly afterwards returned to seek service with the Begam "and was lucky enough to obtain it, and after some time H. H. was pleased to make up the marriage."

In this there may be some truth, but Dyce Sombre's subsequent statements must be read with all reserve. In October 1849 he printed and circulated a libel, in English, French and Italian, purporting to be a memoir of Solaroli's career. It reads as follows:—

"MEMOIR.

In the year 1831, a person calling himself Peter Paul Murray Solaroli, an Italian, came with the intention of marrying a daughter of another Italian, in her late Highness the Begam Sombre's service, in the Upper Provinces of India. The father of the girl, making interest for him, got him the promise of a place in the said Begam's service; but soon after, not being satisfied with his conduct, gave him a refusal as to the marriage. The mother of the girl begged for his being taken into the service again, who having some interest, [it] was granted. He then gave out that he was the son of a renowned general under Napoleon, gen. Leclerc, and, having become possessed of a small estate from a relation, had changed his name, and he himself had served under an English general in the late Spanish insurrections. He went so far as to bribe the said Begam's late physician, who corroborated his statements, so far as names, dates, and events went; and, through this physician making his interest with other English visitors, he gained his object, so far as to be allowed a seat at H. H.'s table, and, having given out such names as the French marechals of the Empire as his father's and his own associates, he was appointed to do duty with H. H.'s guards; but he showed such ignorance of military duties that he was selected for another appointment. The police regulations of the Begam's territories (for the Begam exercised regal power within her own dominions) about that time being re-modelled, he was put over the chief district as head superintendent. He showed activity and some ability in this department, and having gained more interest, he was married to a natural daughter of Col. Dyce (who had asserted this himself) and who had formerly been in the Begam's service, and who had expectations of £8,000 at a future period. This marriage gave him some influence at the Begam's Court, for his wife was a natural or an illegitimate connection of the Begam's late husband. He soon after, upon the strength of his marriage, began to take bribes in settling disputes of an ordinary nature, which it was his duty to do. [Passage omitted as being too disgusting to print]. Such a specimen he gave of his civilised ideas that his appointment was soon after given to another person.

This Signor Solaroli was in a manner disgraced and put out of employ, but the public rumour stated that he had well filled his pocket in the meantime ; and to show the meanness of his spirit, while he was in office, his boy's wet-nurse received her salary as a convict employed in hard-labour for punishment, and the provisions for his table were supplied, as far as the country produce went, from the purchases made for H. H.'s household, the markets being under the superintendence of the police.

He behaved in the most rascally manner to the person whose daughter he had come to marry, for, while exercising the police authority, he, upon a trifling cause, had the head of a maidservant of the former's establishment shaved in his own presence, had her ridden on an ass, and sentenced to a long imprisonment, which, however, was remitted some time after, when it was brought to the notice of higher authorities.

In 1836 the Begam died, and left almost all her property to a connexion of hers, who had most part of his property sold by auctioneers. Signor Solaroli showed dexterity of a different nature in this affair, for on this occasion he bribed the servants, got some property stolen, and such other things as he could not easily take he broke the sets thereof, taking a part of them only ; and when the sets were put up for sale, they were naturally sold cheap, and bought in by Signor Solaroli himself. One instance was notorious, for he carried away a volume of Encyclopedia of great value at night, and, when these works were put up for sale he bought them himself at one-eighth of their value. He then received charge of the remaining affairs from the heir of the Begam, who was coming to Europe ; he robbed him of a quantity of wheat which had been stored by the late Begam for the use of her establishment, to the extent that it must have been enough for him and his family for three years.

He also robbed him of part of the armoury that was put up for sale, of which he has carried away a large quantity, and has brought it to Europe with him.

He sold a market for the heir of the Begam, in the district of Agra, for 3,000 rupees, and paid only 1,800.

He played the same kind of tricks at the sale of a great quantity of goods of all kinds held at Delhi, for native articles. He bought a house, which he got knocked down by bribing the auctioneers, with whom he had been acquainted before he came to the Begam's service.

It is said he is a Piedmontese, and his original name is Jean Lacaroli, and was obliged to quit the territories on account of his having joined with certain political parties who were against the government of the country* [Footnote: *Others say, and which appears to be more correct, that he shot his own father on the bridge at Milan, but contrived to save himself from being in the service of a foreign embassy, and so made his escape into Paris, where he acted for some time as a common cook at one of the restaurants of that city]. But this is certain, of which there are witnesses, and who have served the same master in different capacities, who were his associates, that he was a footman to the late Marquis of Hertford, of whom

he has boasted that he had such confidence in him that he used to rob his Lordship's provisions and money, and used to insinuate to his master that his valet must have been the robber, who in return did not suspect him, but patronised and indulged him in his recreations.

In the beginning of the year 1837 he went down to Calcutta on business for his patron, the Begam's heir, and there actually saw his wife's father die before he would give him the annuity which the Begam's heir had settled upon him, and which was to be paid through him ; for he would not make a will in favour of Signor Solaroli's wife, which he wished him to do, and so the poor old man died from broken heart more than anything else.

This very Signor Solaroli had the impudence to write to the King of Sardinia, stating that he was employed under the said Begam, and had a high military command and a high civil office, and sent the drawing of a church, built by another Italian, his first intended father-in-law, of which he said he was the architect, and had drawn the sketch himself, by which means he was made a Colonel in the King of Sardinia's service, in the corps of Engineers, while the facts are that he is almost illiterate. As to the drawing, he does not know even how to hold a pencil; but he has been cunning enough to learn something about mining under the English Sappers and Miners quartered at Delhi, for which purpose he gave the officers the loan of one of his employer's houses for their mess. He has been made a Baron by the same sovereign, by representing that his wife was related to the Begam, which was not the case. The Begam never had a family of her own; he never had military charge under her, more than his doing duty with her foot guards for a few months, where he showed no capacity ; and no more civil, excepting as supervisor, or an overseer of the new police, and receiver of revenues of one of her districts, where he robbed and oppressed the people so much that he was replaced soon after. Now he has taken up his residence with his ill-begotten wealth at or near Milan, and is trying his best endeavours to prove that his wife's family is insane, and consequently his children are heirs to all that they possess. Sometimes he says that his wife's eldest sister is no relation of his wife's ; but this he was obliged to disavow at the British Embassy, two or three years ago, where there were witnesses to prove the falsehood. Her late Highness the Begam was so disgusted with his conduct, that in her will, she did not so much as mention his name. The reason why a brother-in-law of his is not mentioned in her will is, that he received a large compensation in lieu of it in her lifetime.

FINIS

Printed by E. Brière,
55 Rue St. Anne, Paris."

Solaroli sued the printer of this libel, and received small damages. To this curious document Dyce Sombre subsequently added that Solaroli's real name was Jean Muscat, and that he had been a servant of a Signor Salvi in India, at ten rupees a month.

Solaroli never denied that his origin was humble (4) ; but he was evidently an able and likeable person. To this fact we have the independent testimony of Lady Login, already quoted, as well as the deposition of Captain James Rodgers, late H. M. 26th Cameronians, in the appeal papers. "In the year 1832", he said, "and the two or three following years, I was stationed with my regiment the 26th Cameronians at Meerut. . . . I knew Solaroli to be, in every respect, a most correct, honest, gentlemanly little fellow, as honourable a man as lives. I never heard a word against him before; he was favourite with all our Mess in India ; he was highly esteemed, and bore the most unexceptionable character among all in the country, both natives and Europeans." Dyce Sombre's attempt to blacken Solaroli's character need not therefore be taken seriously, and those who believe that Dyce Sombre was mad may ascribe it to insanity rather than to malice.

XVI. KEMPT LAUZUN

The following passage occurs in a letter from Sir John Shore to Henry Dundas, received by the latter in July 1794, and printed in *The Private Record of a Governor-Generalship*, edited by Holden Furber (Harvard, 1933, pp. 39-40) :—

"Many Officers have of late resigned the Army, and have engaged in different professions. This is a Matter of no Consequence, unless the precedent should produce an extensive Imitation. But there is an example of another nature which I deem of a much more dangerous Tendency, I mean that of Duboigne (sic) who commands Sindia's Army. He has many Europeans under him, English amongst the rest. Duboigne was formerly an Officer on the Madras Establishment, which he quitted and came to Bengal an Adventurier (sic). Some years ago an Officer of the Name of Lazun (sic) on this [Bengal] Establishment left the Army to try his fortunes in Hindustan. He was interested by Major Polier to establish his Authority over a Jagheer assigned to him by the King ; he had collected a very excellent Corps, and his success at first was great, but he lost the Fruits of it with his life by too great a Contempt for the Enemy."

The reference is to Lieutenant Kempt Lauzun of the Bengal Infantry, concerning whom Major V. C. P. Hodson has kindly supplied the following details. He was appointed a cadet in England on 2 July 1768, for the Bengal Artillery, but transferred to the Infantry and was commissioned as ensign on 26 January 1769. On 25 May 1770 he was promoted lieutenant ; resigned the service on 8 January 1776 and entered the employ of Mirza Najaf Khan of Delhi. He was killed in the defence of Delhi in 1777.

There appear to be no references to this officer in any of the literature of the military adventurers.

H. BULLOCK.

(4) "He was born in a humble station. I knew him in London in the latter part of the year 1823" : deposition of Professor Antonio Ronna of Paria.

Hickey's Houses in Calcutta.

(1) "Shortly after my return (on December 24, 1777, after a severe illness) to Colonel Watson's ("at the docks" in the upper part of Garden Reach) he told me that my shipmate, Cleveland (an assistant Surgeon with whom Hickey had come out in the *Plassey*) had more than once expressed a wish that we would join and live together in a very good house he had taken, which, from its vicinity to the Court House, would suit me admirably. To this proposal I readily agreed. I found the house delightfully situated upon the Esplanade, open to the southward and eastward: and commanding an extensive view both up and down the river: to which it was close. The only reasonable objection that could be made was its being *cutch*a, that is built with mud instead of mortar. Formerly the greater part of the buildings in Bengal were of that description, whereas there is now hardly one to be seen throughout Calcutta, being replaced by well constructed masonry. For this house we agreed to pay three hundred sicca rupees, or thirty seven pounds ten shillings a month. Pott undertook to put it into a proper condition for us, which he did but at an expense of nearly one thousand pounds. On the 6th of January (1778) we became joint householders." (Vol. II, pp. 133-134).

(2) "Mr. Cleveland and I continued joint housekeepers until the middle of April (1778) when I determined upon dissolving our partnership and took a house for myself which was then finishing." (Vol. II, p. 156).

(3) "On the 10th of May, 1778, I went into my new house which belonged to Thomas Motte, Esqr., then a respectable and considered a very opulent man." (Vol. II, p. 172). The locality is not indicated.

(4) "In the middle of August (1782) I succeeded in getting a capital house in a central part of the town, and not far distant from the Court House, which was particularly desirable to me who was obliged to attend there daily in the execution of my business as an attorney. It was the property of an old woman, a Mrs. Brightman who let it to me at three hundred sicca rupees a month, I binding myself to pay at that rate of rent for one year certain." (Vol. III, p. 154).

(5) "In the month of July (1784) a house upon the Esplanade, the best and most airy situation in Calcutta, becoming vacant, I had the good fortune to procure it and immediately took possession. The building itself was very old and in a decayed state, but the beauty of the view from it, and its vicinity to the Court House made it a most desirable residence for me." (Vol. III, p. 236).

(6) "The house I inhabited upon the Esplanade now became so bad (1789) as to render it dangerous, being liable to fall every north-wester. I

therefore gave my landlord notice I should quit it at the end of the month. He thereupon called to say he found me so excellent a tenant, he wished to retain me, and if I would go into another mansion of his, he would pull down the house I left and rebuild it according to any plan I chose. I accepted the offer by inhabiting a very capital house belonging to him in Council House Street. The very day I left the old one he sent in workmen to commence pulling it down." (Vol. III, pp. 342-343).

(7) "In March 1790 my new mansion being finished and very handsome I removed into it. I furnished it in such a style as gained universal approbation and acquired me the reputation of possessing great taste. The principal apartments were ornamented with some immense looking-glasses, also with a number of beautiful pictures and prints, forming altogether a choice and valuable collection. The expence was enormous, but as I looked only to pleasant times, having no idea that I should ever be able to lay up a fortune, I was indifferent about the price of things, purchasing every article I felt any inclination for. When completed my house was pronounced to be the most elegantly fitted up of any in Calcutta and in fact there was no one like it. Some of my facetious acquaintances christened it 'Hickey's picture and print warehouse.'" Vol. III, pp. 357-358).

NOTE—It is to be regretted that no particulars are supplied of Hickey's "pictures and prints." But we know (Vol. III, p. 326) that he won at a raffle in 1787 four landscapes by Joseph Farington which had been brought out to Calcutta by the second mate of the *Deptford* Indiaman. Hickey also tells us (Vol. III, pp. 327, 342) that he not only subscribed himself but "procured many other names" to Thomas Daniell's "Twelve Views of Calcutta," (published in 1786-88) and that he sent a set home to his brother in the beginning of 1789.

(8) The landlord of my Calcutta house, whose name was Robertson, of a Portuguese family (but who had a brother that commanded one of the Company's ships and who from his dark complexion and peculiar features was distinguished in the service by the title of "Malay" Robertson), having extracted from me considerably more rent than the premises I held of him were considered worth, or than any person except myself would submit to pay, my friends frequently upbraided me with the folly of submitting to be imposed upon by allowing an unconscionable charge. I therefore called upon Robertson for an abatement, and remarking the advantage that attended having a fixed and permanent tenant, I offered to pay him four hundred sicca rupees a month, so long as I should continue in India, or until my death. The rent I had previously paid was four hundred and fifty sicca rupees monthly. Robertson in his answer admitted I had always been an excellent tenant of his by regularly discharging the rent on the first of every month, but still he could not afford to lower the rent from the immense sum he had disbursed in finishing the building in a most superb manner and which he had done purely to gratify me I resolved to look out for another residence, and in March following 1794 closed with Sir Robert Chambers the Chief Justice, for his elegant mansion built by Mr. Thomas Lyon, out of the

very best materials. It had to me, as an officer of the Court, the great advantage of being situated immediately behind the Court House, with which it had a door of communication, so that I could at any time when my presence was required either in Court or in the Sheriff's office to be there in two minutes from my own apartment. This capital house was certainly one of the best in Calcutta, I took on lease for five years at four hundred and fifty sicca rupees a month, I being bound to keep it in tenantable repair. Upon the first of April (1794) I entered upon it to the great disappointment of my former landlord, who had no idea I would ever leave him. When convinced that I really intended it, he expressed his unfeigned concern, offering to let me have the house for four hundred rupees a month, but it was then too late. (IV. 115-117).

Opposite p. 117 are Hickey's sketches of the house when he leased it with a verandah on the first floor and the other showing the verandahs which he added on the second and third floors. The alteration cost upwards of Rs. 10,500 sicca.

Calcutta Gazette Thursday October 7, 1786.

(9) Stolen out of the house of Mr. William Hickey on the Esplanade, on Wednesday night, the 29th August. Five Prints, two of them Views in America or the West Indies in green and gold frames, two in oval gilt frames belonging to the set of the Sorrows of Werter and the other two females called Expectation. Any person who discovers the thief or will return the pictures shall receive Five Gold Mohur reward.

(10) Advertisement in the "Calcutta Gazettee" of Thursday, December 24, 1807.

Valuable
PROPERTY

To be sold by Public Auction,
BY TULLOH AND COMPANY,
On Monday the 25th January 1808,

At his house adjoining
The Supreme Court,
The

TRULY ELEGANT
PROPERTY

Of

WILLIAM HICKEY ESQ.

Returning to Europe ;

Consisting chiefly of

An extensive side-board of fashionable Plate—Diamond and other valuable jewellery—Valuable and scarce Paintings, and Engravings, in rich gold bur-

nished frames—Superb Pier Looking Glass—Swing, Toilette and Dressing ditto—Concave and convex Mirrors—A great variety of useful and Ornamental Glass ware Queen's-ware and China-ware—A good collection of valuable and scarce Books—Stationary, assortment—A valuable Camera Obscura—A neat and complete Copying Machine—Fire and Side Arms—A Terrestrial Globe—A capital full sized mahogany Billiard Table, in very good order, with Maces, Queus, &c. &c.—A fine toned Chamber Organ, and a valuable Eight-day Table

Clock—Cooking Utensils &c. &c. &c.

Likewise,

A great variety of the best

FURNITURE,

Amongst which are,

Very elegant solid mahogany Dining, Breakfast, Pembroke, Card, and other Tables—A valuable and highly finished treble mahogany Library—A pair of elegant mahogany Book Cases, with glazed doors, and silk curtains—Mahogany Wardrobes, Bureaus, Secretaries, and Chest of Drawers—Mahogany and other Bedsteads, of sizes with Bedding &c. &c.—Settee and other Couches—Side Boards—Chairs and Teapoys, a variety—Mahogany and other Wash hand Stands.

And

Various other

ARTICLES

OF

Useful Furniture;

Also

A stock of the best

of

LIQUORS

And

Several articles

of

OFFICE FIXTURES;

Consisting of

Writing Tables, with Drawers—Pigeon Holes and Book-Cases—Paper Presses &c.

Also

HIS BUGGY AND HORSES

viz,

A remarkably neat full pannell Buggy, built to order, by Stewart and Morrison, and furnished in the first style, on C, Spiral, and grass hopper springs with

Hood, Wings and Lamps, and lined throughout with blue Marocco; together with a very handsome steady good going Bay Acheen Poney, and a fashionable

plated mounted Harness,

A very handsome, shewy, fine tempered bay Saddle Horse, with Saddle and

Bridle,

A ditto bay Buggy Poney,

A ditto bay Saddle Poney,
and

A grey Carriage Horse, formerly one of a pair, and full 14 hands high,

Likewise,

HIS PALANKEENS

viz,

A very elegant Chair Palankeen, with Lamps and glazed throughout, built to order, by Stewart and Co. and finished in the first style.

A fashionable Mehanna, built by ditto and as good as new, with Lamps &c. extremely neat and complete.

A very good ditto, with ditto.

And

Various Other

ARTICLES,

Particulars of which will be fully detailed in Catalogues on the Day of Sale, when all orders will meet with every attention.

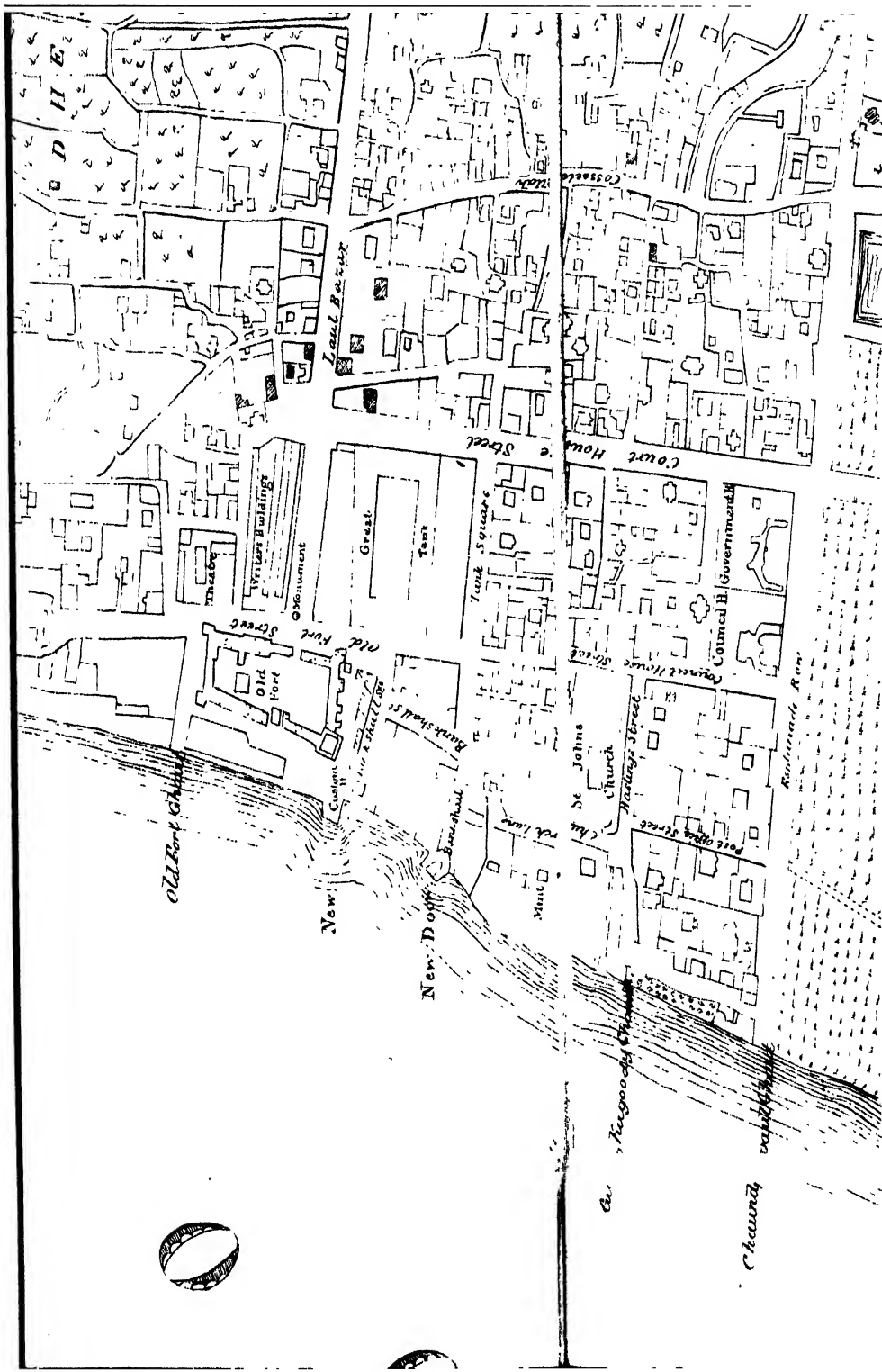
All the Horses are of a most generous temper, and believed sound.

NOTE—A *Mehanna* or *Myannah* was a middle sized palanquin. In Seton Karr's *Selections* from the *Calcutta Gazette* (Vol. I, p. 49) an advertisement is given of the offer for sale in 1784 of "an entirely new myannah, painted and gilt, lined with orange silk, and with curtains and bedding complete." It seems to have been a Calcutta speciality: cf: *Bombay Courier* for May 16, 1795: "For sale, an Elegant Fashionable New Meanna from Calcutta."

(11) This advertisement is repeated in the "Calcutta Gazette" of January 21, 1808. In the issue of January 28, Messrs. Tulloh and Co. "respectfully acquaint the public" that the sale is postponed until Monday February 8 "when it will take place at Mr. Hickey's house, adjoining the Court House." The notice of postponement re-appears on February 4.

NOTE—The name of "Mr. William Hickey, attorney at law" is given in a "correct list of Passengers proceeding to Europe by the Hon'ble Company's ship *Castle Eden*, Captain Richard Colnett," which is printed in the "Calcutta Gazette" of February 18, 1808. Hickey's fellow-passengers (11 male adults, 2 ladies, 8 girls and 7 boys) included Moonshee Mirza Khuleel, who was "proceeding to England for the

purpose of instructing the students at Hertford College," the forerunner of Haileybury, "in the Hindoostannee Language." The *Castle Eden* (818 tons) left the Sandheads in the company of six other Indiamen, and reached her home moorings on August 18, 1808.



Calcutta Streets and Houses in 1789.

UNPUBLISHED SKETCHES AND NOTES

BY WILLIAM HICKEY.

INTRODUCTION.

HITHERTO the locality or site of the "garden house, a short distance from town", inhabited by George Francis Grand and his "recent-acquired consort" has not been determined. But the "incident" took place at Grand's house "in town". During the hearing of the *crim. con.* case *George Francis Grand v. Philip Francis* it was stated that Grand's 'red house' adjoined one occupied by Page Keble¹ and that its western door "looked towards" the house of Mr. Ducarel.²

We are indebted to the Misses Catherine and Evelyn Oules and Mrs. Robert Hayne (great great grand-daughters of Sir Robert Chambers)³ for permission to reproduce a water-colour sketch of Old Court House Street (running southwards from the Old Court House to the Esplanade), by William Hickey, depicting the houses standing in 1789, one of which, Hickey states, was the house "Mr. Francis made his *entree* into, which cost him 50,000 Rs."

Hickey was in Calcutta at the time of the trial (1779) and knew Grand. There seems to be no reason for doubting his statement, which fits in well with the few facts we know. Apparently Francis walked to Grand's house from his own "behind the Playhouse" in Lyon's Range ;—which was within easy walking distance from Old Court House Street. In Hickey's sketch of that street, the house indicated as inhabited by Grand and his wife is coloured dull red.

The sketch is one of twelve, signed William Hickey, made by him, it would seem, by the aid of a camera obscura, from Thomas Daniell's "Views of Calcutta, 1786-88", except that some of the details in the latter are omitted. On the back of each sketch are notes relating to the various houses and buildings and their occupants. The sketch which we reproduce is No. 12 of the series.

Hickey tells us that he had lessons in art, and occupied himself in making a "chaste and highly finished sketch of his friend, Mr. Symmons's, house and garden at Battersea." It will be remembered that previous to his departure from India, his shipmate in the *Plassey* and lifelong friend, Jacob Rider, wrote to him—"as you were once a famous draughtsman possibly you may

have a useful case of mathematical instruments which you could leave with me, or any book of rare drawings.' We are not surprised, therefore, to find that sketches are excellent specimens of good draughtsmanship, and that Hickey could claim to have some artistic ability.

It may be assumed that Hickey intended to send the sketches to the gentleman who aspired to the hand of Miss Sophia Auriol.⁴ It is thought, however, that he presented them to Sir Robert Chambers before or after the latter's departure from Calcutta, when Hickey rented Sir Robert's house in Calcutta.⁵

In *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. xxiv, pp. 182-3, there is a list of the 'Twelve Views of Calcutta' which were brought out by Thomas Daniell in 1786-88. They are reproduced in Corfield's *Calcutta Faces and Places in Pre-Camera Days*, pp. 38-43, numbered 47-58, corresponding with Hickey's Sketches 11, 4, 3, 2, 5, 8, 1, 10, 12, 7, 9, and 6. The titles in the list have been inserted at the head of Hickey's Notes and are copied exactly as written and punctuated.

EDITOR'S NOTES.

1. Captain Page Keble. Master Attendant, Bengal, 1765. Subsequently (1776) Marine Storekeeper. His son, George Gilbert Keble (baptised at Calcutta March 15, 1776), entered the Madras Civil Service, became Secretary to Government and Postmaster General and died at Cuddalore on August 25, 1811. (Monument in St. Mary's Church, Fort Saint George) On the occasion of the invasion of Grand's house by Philip Francis, "Mr. Keble asked from the verandah of his house adjoining to know what was the cause of the disturbance." He is mentioned in the *Calcutta Gazette* of May 10, 1787: "Mrs. Page Keble is we hear shortly to be married to Mr. Charles Wilkins. Mr. Keble altered his Will on his passage home and left everything in favour of his wife." (Wilkins is the famous Oriental scholar). This was his second wife, Elizabeth Metham, whom he married on July 3, 1782.

2. Gerard Gustavus Ducarel. Son of Adrian Colté and Elizabeth Ducarel, of the Parish of St. Thomas the Apostle, London, born 15 April 1745 and baptized 3 May 1745.

Arrived Writer, 16 July 1765: Deputy Paymaster to the 1st Brigade, 1766: Assistant to the Cashkeeper, 1767: Persian Translator to the Resident at the Durbar, 1768: Factor and Supervisor, Purnea, 1770: Collector, Purnea, 1772: Junior merchant, 1773: Member of Revenue Council, Dinājpur, 1774: Fourth member of the Calcutta Committee of Revenue, 1775: Senior Merchant and Superintendent of the Khalsa 1776: Commissioner, Burdwan, 1782: Out of the service, 1788. The *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1800 reports his death in that year at Stilton on his way to London. In later times he and George Livius were contemptuously described by Hastings as "the lees of Francis". He was very much concerned in Francis' raid on Grand's house and gave evidence at the trial.

3. Sir Robert Chambers—Robert Joseph Chambers—Thomas King Chambers, whose daughter, Lucy Maitland Chambers, married W. W. Oules, R.A., in 1878. Robert Joseph Chambers, who was a godson of Philip Francis, was baptized at Calcutta on July 18, 1779. Chambers retired in 1799 and died in Paris in 1803.

4. Hickey sent a set of Daniell's 'Views' to his brother. Possibly the latter was acquainted with Sophia Auriol, before she and her sister sailed for India in 1779?

5. *Memoirs*, Vol. IV, pp. 116-7.

PART OF CHERINGHEE

HICKEY'S NOTES.

This is a view of a part of Calcutta, called Cheringee, the whole has been built within the last twelve years, it extends a mile and half further than this view, and all noble houses.

1. Is a house belonging to the Estate of the late Charles Short Esqr.¹
2. A house belonging to Capt. Collins,² the military Store keeper. Coll: Murray³ lives in it.
- 3 and 4. Both belong to Coll: Wood.⁴ Mr. Dawson⁵ lives in one, the other empty.
5. Sir Charles Blount's.⁶
6. Mr. Hay's⁷ (the Secretary General) occupied by the Honble. Mr. Chas. Stuart.⁸
7. A house at present occupied by Coll: Mordaunt,⁹ the Elder brother of *Henry's*.¹⁰
8. A house occupied by Mr. T. Grant, Garrison paymaster.¹¹
9. Now untenanted, Jacob Rider,¹² lately lived in it.
10. Houses on the Esplanade.

Cheringee commences at the East End of the Esplanade, that is the most distant from the river.

Wm. Hickey, Calcutta, December 1st, 1789.

EDITOR'S NOTES.

1. Charles Short. Free merchant. Died, Calcutta, 3 July 1785, after 20 years' residence there. Owner of Short's Bazaar and gave his name to Short Street (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 151.)

2. John Ulric Collins. Colonel, 19th Native Infantry. Resident at Lucknow. Known as "King" Collins. Cadet, 1769: Ensign, 26 July 1769: Lieutenant, 17 November 1772: Captain, 20 November 1780: Major, 1794: Lieutenant-Colonel, 27 July 1796: Colonel, 29 May 1800: Died, Lucknow, 11 June 1807. Married, Calcutta, 24 November 1790, Miss Charlotte Wrangham (probably daughter of William Wrangham, Member of Council at St. Helena. She died, London, 5 February 1857, aged 84). Hodson's *Officer of the Bengal Army*, 1758-1834.

3. Either Colonel Peter Murray, Adjutant-General at the time or Colonel John Murray, Military Auditor-General.

PETER MURRAY (d. 1803). Lieut. Colonel, 1st Native Infantry. Adj. Gen. Bengal. Country Cadet 1771. Admitted 11 Jan. 1771. Ensign 9 Mar.

1773. Lieut. 27 Mar. 1778. Capt. 18 Oct. 1781. Major 30 Oct. 1797. Lt. Col. 21 Apr. 1800. Died at sea off Ferrol 14 Aug. 1803: Killed on board the *Lord Nelson* in action with the French frigate *Bellona*. 3rd son of Evan Murray. Brother of Robert Murray Macgregor and of Alexander Murray (1746-1822). Married Eliza Tuting*. (She re-married Mar. 1808, Lt. Col. Wilkinson Lister Kaye, late 21st Light Dragoons).

Services: Is said to have gone out to India originally as a Surgeon's Mate.† "On his passage he was insulted by one of the officers of the ship, to whom, after his arrival in India, he sent a challenge, which the other did not think proper to accept. The Government however, seeing that he was a young man of spirit, offered him a commission in their service, which he accepted," (*Monthly Magazine*). First Rohilla War; battle of St. George. A. D. C. to Bdr.-Gen. Giles Stibbert, 1780-3, A. G. Bengal (with official rank of Lt. Col.) 16 May 1786 till 1797. Capt. 3rd Bengal Eur. Regt. in 1796. Furlough 18 Jan. 1797 till 8 Jan. 1801. Major 12th N. I. Posted as Lt. Col. to 2/1st N. I. 21 Apr. 1800. Furlough 7 Mar. 1803 till death. "He is supposed to have accumulated a fortune of not less than £200,000." (*Monthly Magazine*).

Alternately his brother Sir John Murray Macgregor, first baronet. (1745-1822). Lieut. Colonel. 15th N. I. Mily-Auditor General. Born 10 Apr. 1745. Cadet 1770. Admitted 17 Oct. 1770. Ensign 13 Nov. 1771. Lieut. 28 July 1776. Capt. 21 Feb. 1781. Major 1 Mar. 1794. Lt. Col. 31 Aug. 1798. Retired 12 Feb. 1799. Died Portobello, Edinburgh, 29 June 1822. 1st Bart., of Lanrick and Balquhiddy. cr. 3 July 1795. J.P. and D.L. co. Perth. Eldest son of Evan Murray (Macgregor) and Janet his wife, youngest daughter of John MacDonald, of Balcony. Resumed the original surname of the family by Royal Licence in 1822. Brother of Peter Murray. Married, Murshidabad 10 Apr. 1775, Anne dau. of Roderick Macleod, of Bernera. (She died 5 Feb. 1830.)

Services: "Bred to the law." Posted as Ensign to 2nd Bengal Eur. Regt. and apptd. Dy. Judge Advocate to 2nd Bde. at Berhampore in Nov. 1771. Apptd. Mily. Sec. and A.D.C. to Col. A. Champion, 19 Jan. 1774. First Rohilla War; battle of St. George; Ensign 2nd Eur. Regt., Mily. Sec. Sec. to the Board of Ordnance in Calcutta 1776-80; Comy. Gen. 1780-5. Fur. 21 Feb. 1786 till 27 Aug. 1788. Mily. Auditor Gen. (with official rank of Col.) 1789-96. Senior Member of the Mily. Board. Major 3rd Bengal Eur. Regt. in 1796; Lt. Col. 15th N. I. in 1798. Furlough 18 Jan. 1797 till retirement. (Information supplied by Major V. C. P. Hodson.)

4. Colonel Mark Wood, aft. M.P., and Baronet (1747-1829). Joined the East India Company's military service, 1772: Surveyor-General, 1787: Chief Engineer in Bengal, 1790: returned to England, 1793. He surveyed Calcutta

* Note: According to Mrs. Eliza Fay they were married at the house of Dr. Rowland Jackson in Calcutta, 27 Mar. 1782.

† Note: Col. Crawford is inclined to doubt the correctness of this statement in *Gentleman's Magazine*. (Information supplied by Major V. C. P. Hodson).

and the country on the banks of the Hûgli river to the sea, 1780-5. *Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV, p. 30 and Vol. XXX, p. 101.

5. *Matthew Dawson*. Writer, arrived 20 June 1766: Assistant under Export Warehouse-keeper, 1768: Assistant to the Supervisor, Birbhum and Pānchet, 1770: Factor, 1773: Junior merchant, 1774: Fifth Member of Council, Burdwān, 1776: Member of the Calcutta Revenue Committee, 1778: Senior merchant, 1778; Second in Council, Burdwān, 1779: Revenue Chief at Murshidābād, 1788: Died, in India, 1789.

6. *Sir Charles Blunt* (1731-1802). Writer, 1782: Factor, 1788: Junior merchant and Paymaster-General, 1799: Senior merchant, 1799. Son of Sir Henry Blunt, second Baronet, whom he succeeded in 1759. Died, 27 September 1802, near Calcutta, leaving £100,000, three-fourths of it to his eldest son, C. R. Blunt, fourth Baronet. Letters from him are among the Hastings papers in the British Museum. One of his daughters married Sir C. Imhoff, stepson of Warren Hastings.

7. *Edward Hay*. Writer, 1775: Factor and Sub-Secretary, General Department and Agent for the manufacture of powder, 1782: also Secretary, Secret Department, 1783: Senior merchant and Secretary to Government, 1788. Out of the Service in 1800. He married Eliza Serena Wagstaff on February 22, 1782, and his widow married Lt.-Gen. Allexander Kyd (1754-1826) at Clifton, Bristol, on November 10, 1804.

8. *The Hon. Charles Stuart*. Arrived in Bengal as Member of the Supreme Council of the Governor General and President of the Board of Trade, 1785: President of the Board of Revenue, 1789: Resigned his seat in Council, 21 January 1793, and embarked for England in the *Melville Castle*.

9. *Colonel John Mordaunt*, Madras Establishment. Honorary *aide-de-camp* to General Sir John Clavering: also (1782) to Warren Hastings. Employed on political duties at the Court of Nawab Asaf-ud-daulah. Died "lately on board his budgerow, near Chunar, Lieutenant-Colonel Mordaunt, natural brother to the Earl of Peterborough"—*Calcutta Gazette*, 11 November 1790.

His "Cock Match" with the Nawab has been immortalised by Zoffany. The *Bengal Sporting Magazine*, July 1834, contains an article—"Sporting anecdotes of the late Col. J. Mordaunt". See also *Bombay Courier*, 12 August and 16 September 1834. He was a boon companion of Hickey. Usually mentioned as the "eccentric Colonel Mordaunt".

Extract from the Company's Despatch to Madras 22 March 1771.

"Mr. John Mordaunt who we find held a Commission as Ensign on your Establishment, and whom you dismissed for Refusal of doing Garrison Duty at Fort St. George, lately petitioned to be restored And as he has expressed to us great Contrition for That Act of Disobedience, and has given the strongest assurances of his future Attention to his Duty, We have from those Assurances and considering his Youth and Inexperience, been induced to extend Our Lenity towards him, and do therefore restore him to the Rank in our military which he would have held had he not been so dismissed".

Extract from *The Bombay Courier*, 12 August, 1834.

On his arrival at Madras, John was received with open arms by all his countrymen ; but General Sir John Clavering, who was then commander-in-chief in India, and who was accordingly, second in council at Calcutta, having promised to provide for him, John went on to Bengal, where he was appointed an honorary aid-de-camp to that officer, still retaining his rank on the Madras establishment, where he was afterwards subjected to much ill and obloquy !

10. Captain Henry Mordaunt, Bengal Establishment. Cadet, 1772 : 2nd Lieutenant, 3 January 1773 Lieutenant 29 March 1777 : Captain, 25 March 1781. Died, Benares, 8 February 1791. Brother of Colonel John Mordaunt. Hickey's "London antagonist and *ci-devant* rival".

11. Robert Grant. Writer, 1779 : Junior merchant, 1788, Paymaster to the troops at the Presidency, and Berhampore, 20 February 1789 : Senior merchant, 1790 : the same duties at Fatehgarh, 1794 : Collector of Customs, Cawnpore, 1805 : Died, Mussoorie, 21 April 1830.

12. Jacob Rider. Appointed Writer, 1762 : Arrived in Bengal, 14 July 1763 : Writer and Assistant in the Accountant's Office, 1765 : Deputy Commissary General, 1765 : Paymaster to the 1st Brigade 1766 : Factor and Supervisor, Malda 1772 : Second in Council, Kāsimbāzār, 1773 : Senior Merchant and Export Warehouse Keeper, Kāsimbāzār, 1774 : absent from India, 1776-80 : Member of the Board of Trade and Commercial Chief at Lakshmipur, 1782 : Third Member, Board of Trade, 1785 : Suspended from Service 1787 : Reinstated and appointed Judge and Magistrate, Ghāzipur, 1795 : Out of employment 1799 : Collector of Customs, Benares, 1800 : Died, Ghāzipur, 25 August 1809 (not 25 August 1804, as stated in *Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 63.) See *Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 111.

Extract from his Will—

"As I shall die with the consciousness of having been a faithful servant to the Company whom I have served since the year 1763 I beg leave to be allowed to Commit my wife and two younger daughters now in England to their Munificent Consideration and attention in the hope that they will provide for their future Maintenance and Support". Refers in his will to papers relating to the affairs of the Bengal Bank, and his brother John, then Paymaster "to the expedition lately sailed from Calcutta ; States therein that he was Collector of Government Customs at Benares and the oldest Servant the Company have upon their Civil Establishment in Bengal" (24 February 1801).

2

CHITPORE ROAD.

HICKEY'S NOTES.

This is a view of the North road from the European part of Calcutta distant two miles, leading to Barrackpore. The termination of this view is the Northern limit of the town of Calcutta, the whole extent of which from South to North is six miles.

1. A place of worship,¹ built by a native of large fortune but never compleated, & part of it has fallen.
2. Entrance to a native house, the upper part the family set in when cool. The house stands a little back.
3. Small houses, huts, & shops of the natives.
4. Do. do. do.
5. A paper lanthorn which the Musselmen hang up during their holidays.

W. Hickey, Stp. 25th 1789.

EDITOR'S NOTES.

The temple was built by the famous Gobindram Mitter, whose name is so closely connected with that of Holwell, and suffered serious damage in the earthquake of 1737.

3

THE GREAT TANK: LOOKING EAST TOWARDS
THE MISSION CHURCH.

HICKEY'S NOTES.

1. Part of the Great Tank, which supplies the Inhabitants of Calcutta with water for drinking. Tank is the country name for a pond.
2. A private house at present occupied by an Attorney Mr. Raban¹ (pity not o's).
3. A D^o. in a cross street.
4. A D^o.
5. Warehouses.
6. A Church, built by the Danish Missionary² about 18 years ago.
7. The Dwelling house of the Missionary.
8. A private house.
9. A D^o.

10. The house in which Genl. Clavering³ lived, & Died, now Company's offices.

Wm. Hickey Calcutta Sept. 30th 1789.

EDITOR'S NOTES.

1. Attorney-at-law. Arrived in the *Ganges*, 1779. ? Rob on, an allusion to Raban's high charges. Died, 9 January 1811, aged 50.
2. The Reverend John Zachariah Kiernander. *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vols. X, XI, XIV, XVII, and XVIII.
3. General Sir John Clavering (1722-1777). Commander-in-Chief and Member of the Supreme Council, 1774: 'The Governor-General of a Day'—(see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XII, p. 1 *et seq.*). Died, 30 August 1777. *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XLI, p. 185, and Vol. XXX, p. 218. His house is mentioned in Vol. XIV, p. 18, and is still in existence in Mission Row.

THE MAYOR'S COURT (OLD COURT HOUSE) AND WRITERS' BUILDING.

HICKEY'S NOTES.

1. Part of the old Court house, now used as a place for public Entertainments, situated in the center of the European town. It is an immense building, being in depth thrice its front, of which only two thirds here appear.
2. A range of buildings erected in 1777 by Mr. Lyon,¹ & bought by Mr. Barwell² soon after, from whom the Company have them on Lease. They are given to Junr. Servants or those not receiving a Salary of more than 300 rs. a month. This was the first building of three stories high erected in Calcutta. There are 19 houses, one excellent room on each floor, two Gentlemen to each house. Compleat offices behind. The situation airy & good, being about 50 yards to the Northward of the Great Tank.
3. Principal entrance to the old Fort, under the Gateway is the fatal black hole.
4. A Column erected to the memory of the unfortunate persons who perished in the black hole. (There is another view of it at a nearer sight). In 1783 it was struck by Lightning & much damaged, but was immediately repaired.
5. Top of a building in the old Fort formerly used as a Chapel. It has within a few months been pulled down & a large house built on the Ground for public offices.

6. Part of the Custom Master's house, also in the old Fort.
8. End of the Wall of the Ground belonging to the Great Tank.
9. One of the Common sewers lately compleated throughout Calcutta.

W. Hickey Calcutta 12 Oct. 1789.

EDITOR'S NOTES.

1. Thomas Lyon, architect and builder.
Bengal: Past and Present, Vol. XLVIII, p. 88.
2. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XIV, pp. 67, 70, as to his property in Writers' Buildings.

5

THE SUPREME COURT (NEW COURT HOUSE) AND CHANDPAUL GHAUT.

HICKEY'S NOTES.

1. The present Court house, the private property of Mr. Kear,¹ to whom the Company pay a rent for it of near four thousand pounds sterling a year. The Court is held in the East end, the Judges bench is in a recess, under the Dome A. This house is delightfully situated upon the banks of the river, and quite open to the southward (the prevailing wind in this country) it is upon the Esplanade, about a mile from the Fort. These views being taken with a Camera² have the usual fault of greatly encreasing the distances. Thus, from the appearance of the Ships, &c., you would suppose the river more than a mile distant, whereas the Court house is within an hundred yards of it.
2. Coach houses and stables belonging to the Court house.
3. A private dwelling house.
4. A. D^o.
5. A D^o. This house I inhabited in the beginning of the year 1778.³
6. Out houses belonging to a house intercepted by No. 5.
7. Entrance to the house No. 3.
8. D^o. to N^o. 5. Just beyond which is the street leading to Sir Robt. Chambers's.

The land opposite to Calcutta here gives you the idea of being hilly whereas it is as flat as a pancake. It should be finished into Trees.

W. H. Calcutta.

EDITOR'S NOTES.

1. Archibald Keir. *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXX, p. 150 seqq.
2. ?camera obscura.
3. *Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 133, and *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, p. 31.

6

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH.

HICKEY'S NOTES.

1. The new Church, compleated by subscription, in 1787. There is a fine organ in it. This building appears to advantage upon paper.
2. A private house. The one I at present inhabit (Sept. '89) is close to it.¹
3. A Carpenter's Shop.
4. Private houses, in different streets.
5. Upper part of one of the old Tombs: until about 15 years ago this was the burying ground, but as Calcutta encreased in buildings & inhabitants, the place of burial as changed and is now about two miles out of Town.
6. Another old monument, one of the first erected. The date of the inscription is 1738.²
7. Admiral Watson's monument.³
8. An old monument, part of which has fallen.
9. Old Monuments.
10. Some temporary thatched huts, for workmen &c. whilst the Church was building. They will be soon removed.

W. Hickey Sept. 17th 1789.

EDITOR'S NOTES.

1. Hickey's house as indicated by him, is on the extreme right of the picture and appears to occupy the site in Garstin's Place (Hare Street) appropriated in later years by the *Englishman* office. Hickey mentions it in his *Memoirs* (III—342—3) as being in Council House Street.
2. The tomb of 1738 is that of Josia Townshend "Pilot of the Ganges".
3. Vice-Admiral Charles Watson. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXXI, for a reproduction of a portrait of him and his son in

the Victoria Memorial Hall and of his tomb in St. John's Church-yard. The pillar is seen in the background.

7

THE COUNCIL HOUSE AND THE ESPLANADE.

HICKEY'S NOTES.

1. The Council House.
2. Council house Street. It goes from the Esplanade to the Great Tank.
3. The new Church,¹ built by subscription, finished in 1787.
4. A private house, in a cross street that goes out of Council house Street.
5. A house used for public offices, built about 8 years ago by the Revd. Mr. Johnson,² formerly inhabited by Sir Eyre Coote,³ then by Mr. Stables,⁴ & lastly by Genl. Sloper,⁵ upon whose return to Europe the Company purchased it for a lack of rupees, which was less than it cost building.
6. The house I inhabited (*you see me looking out of the window*).⁶ In Sept. 1788 I quitted it when it was immediately pulled down, & a most excellent one erected in its place, which is just finished, & to which, when perfectly dry, I intend to return. It is now nearly as lofty as 5, & has eight good rooms on a floor.
7. A private house in which Mr. Wm. Dunkin⁷ resided.
8. Mr. Justice Hyde's⁸; He has tenanted this house from the time of his arrival, & has paid rent to the amount of fifteen thousand pounds.
9. A private house.
10. Sir Robt. Chambers's. This is one of the most lofty houses in Calcutta situated immediately behind the present Court house: The entrance to it is from a cross street by the water side.
11. A private house.
12. Part of the present Court house.
13. Esplanade.

Wm. Hickey Calcutta Sept. 2nd 1789.

EDITOR'S NOTES.

1. St. John's. See *Memoirs*, Vol. III, p. 331, for an account of the opening of the Church under the direction of the Reverend William Johnson—"who took occasion to introduce into his sermon a severe

- philippic against inebriety, against indelicate behaviour and directing his discourse pointedly to the pew in which we sat".
2. Reverend William Johnson, chaplain of Calcutta, husband of "Begum Johnson".
 3. *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XV, pp. 51-3.
 4. John Stables. Member of the Supreme Council, November 1782 to January 1787. Went to Bengal from Madras as an Ensign, volunteering with Colonel Caillaud, November 1759: Commanded a detachment at Monghyr, December 1760: defeated the Raja of Kurrakhur: commanded a battalion at the battle of Buxar, 23 October 1764: retired, 1769. A friend of Zoffany's. *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 171 and Vol. XL, p. 70.
 5. Lieut.-General Robert Sloper. Commander-in-Chief, and Member of the Supreme Council, 21 July 1785 to 12 September 1786. In April 1786, it was thought expedient, in consequence of the Act of Parliament, 1784, to revoke the appointment of General Sloper, and to allow him £1,500 a year for life, and £1,000 for his passage home.
 6. c.p. *Memoirs*, Vol. III, pp. 342-3.
 7. William Dunkin (Knighted 1791). Permitted to proceed to Bengal to practise as a barrister in the Supreme Court (Despatch to Fort William in Bengal, February 7, 1781). Enrolled as an advocate on October 22, 1782. Left India in the *Phoenix*, January 1789. "This was a serious loss to me" writes Hickey "and I feel it acutely." (*Memoirs*, Vol. III, p. 342). Appointed Judge of the Supreme Court in September 1791. Resigned August 1798. One of his daughters married Sir Francis Macnaghten.
 8. John Hyde (1737?-1796). Judge of the Supreme Court, 1774: Died, Calcutta 8 July 1796: buried in South Park Street Burial Ground. The house occupied by him (1784) is mentioned in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 30.

8

OLD FORT WILLIAM: RIVER SIDE VIEW, WITH THE FORT GHAUT.

1. N. W. Bastion of the old Fort.
2. Entrance to a piece of Ground, private property.
3. Entrance to Custom house Quay.
4. Custom Master's house.
5. Custom House (a part of the old Fort).
6. House formerly used as a Chapel. It was lately pulled down.

7. A house of the Company's in the old Fort.
8. A private house.
9. S. W. Bastion of the old Fort.
10. A private house.
11. A ship building.
12. A Wharf & warehouse of the Company's. It is now carried still further out & a crane erected.
13. A private house.
14. Do. at different distances.
15. A pinnacle Budgerow, in which we move up & down the Country. They are very commodious, but being flat bottomed on account of the number of sands, will only sail before the Wind.
16. A Chair palankeen with its cover on.

Wm. Hickey Calcutta Oct. 20th 1789.

9

OLD GOVERNMENT HOUSE.

HICKEY'S NOTES.

1. The Government house,¹ in which all the Governours of Bengal have resided since Lord Clive's time (He lived in the Council house). Since Lord Cornwallis's arrival it has been much improved. It is situated on the Esplanade, in the same line with the new Court house etc. It belongs to Mahomed Reza Cawn.
2. A private house built in 1781, & occupied by Mr. Wheler² untill his death, then by the Honble Mr. Charles Stuart, & now by Mr. Shore.³ It is situated behind (that is to the Northward of) the Council house.
3. End of the Council house.

W. H. Calc.

EDITOR'S NOTES.

1. *Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. XIV, pp. 176-7.
2. Edward Wheler (1733-1784). Appointed member of the Supreme Council, 1777. Died October 1784. See Biographical Sketch, *Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 213, and pp. 17, 20, and 175 of the same volume, as regards his house, in Wheler Place, also Vol. XXVIII, pp. 143-4. Laid the foundation-stone of St. John's Church.

3. John Shore, aft. Baron Teignmouth. Arrived in India as a Writer, 1769: Member of the Supreme Council, 1787: Governor-General, 1793: Commissioner for the Affairs of India, Board of Control. Died, London, 14 February 1834. *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 216.

 10

CALCUTTA FROM THE RIVER HOOGLHY.

HICKEY'S NOTES.

The description of this view must be short as it represents a part of the town entirely inhabited by natives; No. 1, is the Armenian Church,¹ which is situated at the extremity of the European part of Calcutta; the remainder takes in a space of about a mile and an half up the river, and goes very near to the Great pagoda in the Chitpore road, and which is the subject of one of the twelve views.

W. Hickey Calcutta Oct. 28th 1789.

EDITOR'S NOTES.

1. Church of Saint Nazareth, erected 1724. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XLI, pp. 105-118.

 11

 THE OLD FORT AND WESTERN SIDE OF TANK SQUARE
 WITH THE HOLWELL MONUMENT LOOKING
 NORTH TOWARDS CLIVE STREET.

HICKEY'S NOTES.

1. A Bastion of the Old Fort.
2. Principal Gateway of Do., under which is the black hole.
3. N. E. Bastion of the Old Fort.
4. A dwelling house, formerly Mr. Middleton's.¹
5. A private Dwelling house.
6. Messrs. Paxton, Cockerell & Co's house.
7. Offices to Do., lately erected.
8. A private Dwelling house.
9. The Theatre,² built by subscription, about 20 years ago.

10. West end of the Writers buildings, of which you have an entire view.
11. Obelisk erected to the memory of the unfortunate sufferers in the black hole ; upon a brass plate on the North side (which is the opposite to the one here in shade) are the names of all those who perished.
12. Part of the Wall that incloses a piece of Ground adjoining to the Great Tank.

Wm. Hickey, Calcutta Oct. 17th 1789.

EDITOR'S NOTES.

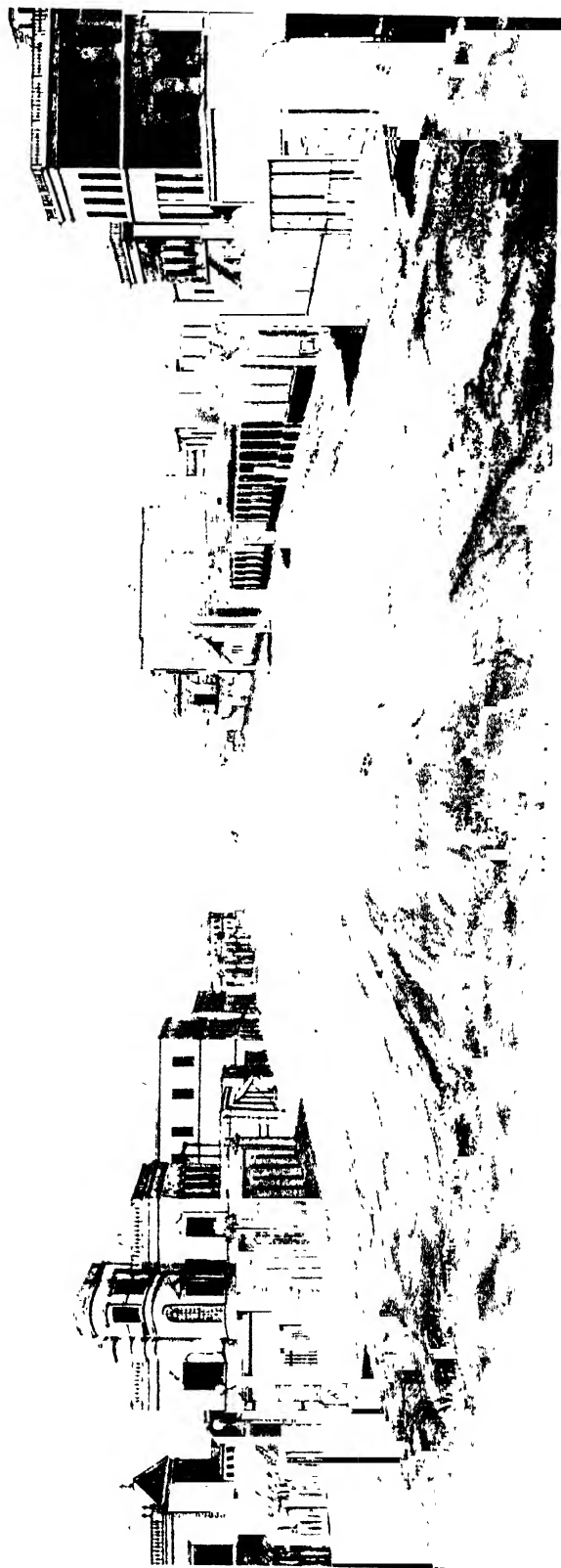
1. ?Samuel Middleton, Junior, Commissioner of the Sunderbans in 1792.
2. "New Playhouse", in Lyon's Range. *Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. II, p. 78.

12

OLD COURT HOUSE STREET: LOOKING SOUTH.

HICKEY'S NOTES.

1. A Dwelling house, lately the property of Mr. Calvert,¹ who went home last year.
2. Do. belonging to Mr. Prinsep,² who married *your flame*, Miss Auriol.^{3 4}
3. Part of Stables of No. 1.
4. A house inhabited by the Commander of a Europe Ship. It is in a cross lane.
5. Do. This is the house Mr. Francis made *his entrce* into which cost him 50,000 Rupees.
6. The house of Mr. Harding,⁵ one of the paymasters.
7. Stables & offices belonging to the Governor General's house.
8. Entrance to a house inhabited by Capt. Robertson⁶ of the Busbridge.
9. Habitation of Mr. Ellis, Surgeon General.⁷
10. The Library.
11. A Europe Shop, that is where all Europe articles are sold.
12. A Do.
13. A private house.
14. A School.
15. Esplanade.



OLD COURT HOUSE STREET 1789

Looking South towards the Esplanade.

Drawing from William Hickey from one of Daniell's Views. Views of Calcutta

This is one of the principal Streets of Calcutta. It goes from the Old Court house up to the Esplanade.

Wm. Hickey Oct. 3rd, 1789 Calcutta.

EDITOR'S NOTES.

1. Thomas Calvert. Writer 1772, employed as Assistant in the Export Warehouse: Salt Agent at Chittagong, 1776: Factor holding the same office, 1777: Junior merchant and Salt Agent at Hijili, 1782: Senior merchant and Controller of salt manufacture, 1788: Returned to England, 1789. He and his wife (*née* Anne Philpotts) sell their house (purchased from John Prinsep) 20/21 January 1789. *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XIV, pp. 175, 210.
2. See *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI p. 154. John Prinsep died 30 November 1831, in Great Cumberland Street, aged 85 years.
3. Sophia Auriol, sister of James Peter Auriol. Miss Sophia Auriol and Miss Charlotte Auriol were permitted to "proceed to their friends in India" in 1779 (Court Minutes, 3 December 1779). John Prinsep married Sophia Elizabeth Auriol on January 22, 1782. She died in London on February 21, 1850 aged 90. Charlotte Louisa Auriol was married to Thomas Dashwood of the Civil Service on February 23, 1782. The Dashwood family own a portrait group by Zoffany, in which the sisters, their husbands and their brothers Charles and John are represented.
4. James Peter Auriol. Writer, 1770, employed as assistant in the Secretary's office: Sub-Secretary to the Council of the Governor and Deputy Zamindar, 1772: Assistant Secretary to the Supreme Council and Assistant Deputy Commissary General, 1774: Factor and Secretary to the Governor General and Council, 1776: Junior merchant and Secretary as before, 1779: Senior merchant and Secretary in the General Department and Agent for supplies to the other Presidencies, 1782: Out of the Service in 1788. Died, in his house in Park Lane, 21 June 1824. His widow died 1 May 1827. (Information supplied by Miss E. Humphris). His brother John Lewis Auriol was also a Bengal civil servant.
5. William Harding. Writer, 1777: Assistant in the Secretary's Office, 1778: also Examiner 1780: Civil Paymaster, 1782: Factor, Civil Paymaster and Military Paymaster-General, 1783: Senior Merchant and Civil Paymaster, 1788: At home, 1791: Out of the service in 1795.

Thomas Adams sells to William Harding an upper-roomed house and ground "on the high road leading southerly from the Old Court House to the Esplanade". 20/21 April 1784. (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XIV p. 17).

6. Captain Thomas Robertson. Possibly 'Malay' Robertson, brother of Mr. Robertson, landlord of the house inhabited by Hickey, 1790-4. (*Memoirs* vol. III pp. 387-8 and vol. IV, p. 116). Born 1765 : seaman in the *Lively*, 1772 : 1st voyage to India, 1772, and came home in the *Prime*, as seaman : midshipman, *Hillsborough*, 1774 : 4th mate, *Valentine*, 1776-7, came home as 3rd mate : 2nd mate *Busbridge*, season 1781-2 : Commander, *Busbridge*, seasons 1784-5 to 1791-2 : Commander, *Cirencester*, seasons 1796-7 to 1803-4.
7. James Ellis. Surgeon's mate, *Streatham*, 1758-59, lost : Assistant-Surgeon 1759 : Ensign, 1760 : Resigned combatant commission in promotion to Surgeon, 1 October 1761 : Second Surgeon, Calcutta, 25 November 1763 : Head Surgeon 12 February 1771 : Resigned and went to England, April 1774 : Returned to India, May 1783, and succeeded Daniel Campbell as Surgeon General : First President of Medical Board at its foundation, 29 May 1786 : Physician General 28 August 1786 : resigned, 24 December 1789 : Died in *Busbridge* on passage to England.

War Services : War with Mir-Kasim, 1763 : Senior Surgeon of Army under Major Adams, battles of Katwa Gharia, and Undhwa Nala, capture of Monghir and Patna. *vide* Crawford's *History of the Indian Medical Service, and Roll of the Indian Medical Service, 1615-1930*.

W. T. OTTEWILL.

Sheikh I'tesamuddin of Nadia.

THE FIRST INDIAN TO VISIT LONDON.

ACCOUNT OF HIS TRAVELS IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

My interest has been considerably aroused by an able article published in the "Statesman" of the 1st July, 1934, under the caption of: "The first Indian in England. A Bengalee Muslim's chronicle of 1765." 'Anent' the statement of the writer of the article it appears that no copy of the MS. "Shagarf Nama-i-Vilayet" is perhaps now extant. But as I write these notes I am fortunate in having before me an old Persian MS of the 'Shagarf Nama.' The MS belongs to my friend, Moulana Hakim Habibur Rahman Akhundzadah of Dacca and is full of highly interesting details of the contemporary history of Bengal.

The author Sheikh I'tesamuddin, son of Sheikh Tajuddin, hailed from the village of Kasba in Perganah Pachnoor of Nadia District. The MS contains some mistakes and omissions committed, apparently by the scribe and there are also confusions in Hijri and Bengalee years. It is sometimes difficult to follow the foreign proper names transcribed into Persian, over and above which the scribe out of ignorance made mistakes in spelling. As I have just taken up the MS for study I have had no opportunity to compare the details with any authentic contemporary records. To the Muslims of India generally and of Bengal specially, it is a source of joy and pride to learn that one of their kith and kin had the proud privilege of visiting England as early as 1766, when the mere thought of "Kalapani" was a source of sin and terror. It is generally believed that Raja Ram Mohon Ray was the first Indian to visit England in 1831. But perhaps very few people know that this Muslim gentleman had visited England about 64 years before the Raja had visited the place. The MS contains 310 closely written pages, the size of each page being 9 by 6 inches.

There are several chapters marked in red dealing with different subject matters. The MS contains no portrait of the Sheikh. But the imposing portrait which the "Statesman" has published from Alexander's English account of the Sheikh's travels is, indeed, very interesting. I have not seen the English copy. But I am inclined to think that it is not a faithful translation of the MS and is perhaps an expurgated and abridged narration.

After some change of European and Indian masters the Sheikh was in the employ of one Major Park during the Nayabet of Nawab Kasem Ali Khan and with the Major visited Shah Alum Badshah Ghazi in Azimabad. When Major Park left for England he was sent to one Major Tom with a letter of recommendation, a map of the route from Birbhum to Azimabad and a grey-

hound mastiff. But as ill-luck would have it he could not get any employment there owing to the machinations of Naba Kishan, who was afterwards made a Raja. He was present at Uduanalla during the war with Nawab Kasem Khan. In Midnapur during the regime of one Mr. Birdhood, he was for a year a Tehsildar of the Perganah Kutubpur, with a certain kind-hearted European gentleman named Mr. Eastbursh who died soon after and whose affectionate memory the Sheikh always cherished with tears.

Among Enemies.

The Sheikh then went to Calcutta where he found eight persons in the employment of the Company in the Company's Munshikhana. Among them he names Munshi Asadolla, Munshi Fakhruddin, Munshi Md. Asloob, Munshi Abul Bari, Munshi Md. Muizz in the service of Major Charnock, Munshi Sadruddin* in the service of Colonel Coote and Munshi Salimallah in the service of Henry Vansittart, the Governor of Calcutta.

In the year 1180 Hijri (1766-67) Nawab Shuja-ud-Doula and Lord Clive Sabet Jung Bahadur returned from the camp of the Badshah in Allahabad after having obtained the 'Firman' for the Dewani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa on behalf of the Company and the Nizamat in the name of Najmud-Daula son of Nawab Jafar Ali Khan. The Badshah with tears in his eyes told Lord Clive Sabet Jung Bahadur that they were leaving him in the midst of enemies and ungrateful creatures. Lord Clive and General Charnock were much moved to hear this from His Majesty and assured him that nothing would be done without His Majesty's consent and that of the Company's Council and that Lord Clive was soon going to England to set things right. His Majesty was requested by Lord Clive to stay in Allahabad till his return from England, and General Smith was ordered to wait upon His Majesty with a battalion of troops. Then Nawab Munir-ud-Daula and Rajah Shitab Roy along with Lord Clive Sabet Jung came down to Calcutta.

On arriving in Calcutta they went to the garden at Dum-Dum and there with the concurrence of General Charnock, George Vansittart, Captain Swinton, Nawab Munir-ud-Daula and Rajah Shitab Ray and without any knowledge of the Council of Directors, wrote a letter (to the King of England) in the Badshah's name and illuminated it with the Royal Seal. The letter was then entrusted to Captain Archibald Swinton (a Scotchman and the Captain was appointed to represent the Badshah of Hindustan before the King of 'exalted dignity' in England with a gift of a lac of rupees. A Munshi was necessary to accompany the Captain and the Sheikh was selected for the work.

* N.B.—Munshi Sadruddin (of Maldah), as far as I know was the originator of the Bohar Library now attached to the Imperial Library at Calcutta. His direct descent is now Mr. Muzafferul Musavi of Karatia, son-in-law of the late Hon. Nawab Bahadur Nawabali Chaudhuri, C.I.E. It would have been interesting if other gentlemen mentioned above, including the writer himself, could be similarly traced and identified.

Badshah's Letter.

Nawab Munir-ud-Daula on behalf of the Badshah gave the Sheikh four thousand rupees for his expenses and promised high royal favours in future. After they had voyaged a week Captain Swinton informed the Sheikh that Lord Clive had taken away the Badshah's letter from him saying that since the present of the Badshah had not arrived from Benares it would be of no use to carry the letter alone and that Lord Clive when coming to London next year would bring with him the letter and the gift. On hearing this the Sheikh felt as if his breath was snatched away and he almost lost his senses. But there was no escape and on strict injunctions his lips were sealed. However after a year and a half Lord Clive reached England and laid before the Queen of England the gift of a lac of rupees on his personal behalf and obtained showers of royal favours.

He never mentioned the name of the Badshah in this connection nor delivered the Badshah's letter. Even Captain Swinton who was a friend of Lord Clive, was quite disgusted by the crafty conduct of the noble Lord and complained to the Sheikh of the trick played on them. At that time a keen controversy was going on in England as to whether the East India Company or the British Sovereign on behalf of the people of England should be the real possessor of the fruits of Company's adventures in India. The Sheikh details the strong arguments of both parties.

Inducements.

The Sheikh then finding his stay in England quite unnecessary decided to return home. Many English friends tried to retain him in England, on high remuneration in order to engage him to teach Persian to young Englishmen destined for service in India and for other important work connected with Persian language. Captain Swinton himself and through other influential Englishmen like Dr. Bolton, Captain Stibble etc. tried their utmost to retain his services but to no purpose. Captain Swinton even offered to help him to marry 'two wives instead of one' according to the custom of the Sheikh's country. To these queer suggestions the Sheikh politely replied that the tawny women of his country were a thousand times better than the fairy-faced damsels of England. Many other English friends insisted upon him to take a fresh wife in London. To them the Sheikh always gave a witty reply. He told them that 'the woman I would like to marry here would not consent to marry me and the woman who would like to marry me, I would not consent to marry her. The reason is this that I am as much respectable in my own country as are the dignitaries of your country ; so any marital alliance I make here must be consistent with the dignity and standard of my own native land.

That was a time when owing to quarrels between themselves Mr. Johnson and some other Councillors of the Company were being tried by the Supreme Court of London for taking a bribe from Nawab Muzaffer Jung, Md. Riza Khan, Maharaja Nund Kumar and Maharajah Durlabh Roy. Captain Swinton, Captain Stibble, and Mr. Peacock were specially brought to London to depose

in the case. The Sheikh attended the trial at persistent requests from Swinton and helped those gentlemen in deciphering Persian letters and other exhibits.

The Sheikh when out in the streets of England with his customary flowing robes and his outlandish appearance became the target of inquisitive passersby, who knew him to be a humble relation of the Nabobs of Bengal. Even Captain Swinton on account of his keeping company with him was tauntingly styled as 'Nabob.' The Sheikh's ubiquitous 'Gur-Guri' 'hookah' reigned supreme even in the precincts of the Supreme Court of London and this perhaps added much to the Oriental grandeur of the Sheikh.

The Sheikh was, however, very much disgusted and felt sad in London owing to his unsuccessful mission. Besides the memory of his 'sweet home' haunted him and made his mind uneasy. Therefore, he left England and in the year 1183 Hijri (1769) in the Bengalee month of Kartik with Mr. Mondy reached home in Bengal. He stayed in England one year and seven months and also visited the 'Madrassah' of Oxford and Scotland. He spent one year in the journey and two months in Madras.

Intelligent Inquiries.

The erudition of the Sheikh can be gauged from the fact that on several subject-matters of the MS he has from his own point of view made intelligent inquiries and criticisms. He has treated at length on what he saw and how he felt at every port of call during the voyage and very seldom failed to give topographical accounts of the places. His description of the places of interest in England and Scotland, on social customs and religious institutions, on education and academy, on law and justice, on army and discipline, on love and war, on places of mirth and amusement, on the Regent Park, St. James Palace, the House of Parliament, Museum. Libraries, the Zoological Garden and several other subjects will raise the interest of the reader to a high pitch.

I wish some Muslim scholar would take up the translation of the MS in right earnest.

After his return from England the Sheikh continued to play an important role as political intermediary and as scribe of despatches and protocols during that period of wars and upheavals, when the destiny of India was in the melting pot. As far as I can find out, the Sheikh was the only Indian writer of contemporary events of which he was an eye-witness. In almost every war then raging, he was present with the British army. In the transactions between Shah Alum, John Company and Najm-ud-Dowla, the Sheikh was a factor.

He writes:—"All these negotiations between the late Nawab Shuja-ud-Dowla, the protocols and the Firman of the Badshah were written by the pen of Mohammed Muizz Munshi, and this humble-self with the approval of Mr. George Vansittart, was their interpreter. In the year 1189 H corresponding to 1795 of the Christian era, I was in the service of the Company with Colonel Upton Bahadur and went to Poona Sitara to carry on negotiations, to put questions and to give answers to the Mahrattas. There, I was the

intermediary in the durbar of the Peshawas between the Company and the Mahratta statesmen like Pundit Rao Pardhan, Sakharam Babu and Balaji Rao alias Nana Fernavis. The copy of the protocol that was then drawn up by me with the full concurrence of Captain Macpherson is still with my humble-self. I have spent the whole of my period of manhood in the services of Englishmen. Now at this old age I am beset with hard times and the evil days have taken me up."

In my narration of the Sheikh's travels I shall, as far as possible, limit myself to facts incidental to Europe which I hope will interest the general readers.

In France.

After about six months' voyage over an unending expanse of water below, and under a limitless sheet of blue sky above, the sloop reached the shores of France. The boom of a gun from the sloop brought a pilot boat from the shore and with its guidance they reached the port of Bourbonan. Customs officers came on board the sloop to search the passengers' belongings, whereupon the assistants of the sloop's Captain, a doctor, a clergyman and many others began to conceal in their pockets, wrap round their necks, waists and below their shirts and underwear, articles like clothes which they had brought from Bengal. The Sheikh was amused to see the strange conduct of these people who "made themselves thieves by carrying their own properties."

Swinton and Peacock then left for England by mail coach and the Sheikh was left to go by boat. He stayed in France for three weeks which he spent in sight-seeing and studying the ways and mode of living of the French people. He says that the French people were reputed for their respectability and pleasant manners, throughout the European world. They were much advanced in all kinds of arts, science, technics and crafts. Rich people of England sent their sons and daughters for education to Paris where they specially learnt Music and Domestic Science. It was owing to French training that the English people were so much forward in the world. Formerly they were as much ignorant and worthless as were then the Indians.

The Sheikh remarks that after all, learning and acquisition of wisdom were special gifts of God to mankind for their own benefit. Those who ignore it must suffer the consequences. The people of the country seemed to him rather poor and lazy. The Englishmen in comparison were more active and smart. They had no shoes and socks on. Whereas the English people invariably wore shoes and socks. Plenty of eatables like bread, cheese, herbs, vegetables and indigenous fruits could be had. But dried fruits of the Levant and Iraq were not available, neither was their any sign of mangoes, jack-fruits, plantains, oranges, rice or the cereals common in Hindustan.

First Impressions of England.

After another week's voyage the sloop set anchor at a small town in England. People of the 'ghat' came on board to search the sloop. In the

chest of the wife of Peacock who was a blackish Portuguese woman, some embroidered cloths and a bundle of "Kimkhab" were found. Owing to her carrying contraband goods like these, the officials impounded the sloop in a narrow canal connected with London river. The Sheikh got down to see sights. Before this the people of England had never seen an Indian with the peculiar form of dress worn by him. He was, therefore naturally a sight for the people.

One day the Sheikh happened to enter the house of a respectable citizens where music and dancing were in full swing. Immediately on his entering the room the music came to a standstill and a beautiful set of people crowded round him to examine his dress and appearance. They took his dress as specially adapted for dancing by buffoons. Then inspite of his persistent excuses and his ignorance of the art: they began to urge him on to dance. They could not understand how a man with that amusing costume was unable to sing and dance. They were however not convinced and thought the Sheikh was shy of dancing because of the foreign company.

Here the Sheikh remarks:—"I went to see sights but myself became a sight for others. They on their part looked strangely at my countenance and costume, and I, on my part, was charmed with their beautiful faces. In that assembly where one's wit is lost, the fairy out of remorse covers her moonlike face 'n disgust and the 'ghilman' with his sunlike countenance hangs down his head in shame. I, an ordinary wayfarer out of refulgence of the rays of their beauty, felt dazed and looked aghast like a statue. I, therefore, spent my time in praising the Supreme Fashioner who shaped these creatures of clay with His artful hand."

London Adventures.

Swinton and Peacock took him to London on a 'gharry' with Mohammed Muqim (perhaps this man was an attendant accompanying the Sheikh from India) and they stopped there in the house of the younger brother of Swinton, in Count Street, Hay Market. People of London took him to be a strange being, not without some high importance attached to his person, as he was considered to be a poor relation of the Nabobs of Bengal. When out in the streets of London in his flowing garment, turban, shawl and with a dagger (Peshkabz) thrust in his "Kumberbund" he was quite a sight. Many liked his garments on account of its feminine features. Men and women hovered round him, touched and felt him, ran after him, and espying him from high balconies and windows came down with lightning speed and beaming faces to have a look at this mysterious man.

Youngsters and children thinking him to be a "Bull i.e., a black genie" as the Sheikh puts it, used to scream and run away from him. But after some time they were much emboldened and became quite familiar with him, on account of his courteous and friendly ways. He was then always treated with utmost kindness, jovial manners and prodigious hospitality. The Sheikh was always lavish in his praise of English courtesy and hospitality. Public women used to flirt with him and say "Come, my dear, kiss me." This phrase

in the opinion of the Sheikh indicated that he was expected to pass some pleasant time in their company. The curiosity of the people to see him was natural because except some "Khalasies" and crewmen of Chittagong and Jehangirnagar (Dacca) they never saw a man of respectable "Munshi" type from Hindustan except the Sheikh.

The Mighty Metropolis.

The city of London extended for about six miles north to south. From the east it began with the King's Garden and ended in the west with a stone-made fort. A river connected with the sea flowed east to west. The ships were anchored at the jetty of the Company, facing the Company's 'kothi' and was six miles off from the King's palace. The Sheikh says that in the English language 'City' is a place where Mahajans and traders have their residence and conduct their business. This place in Hindustani term is called a "Mahajantoli." Towards the west there stood many buildings often three and five stories high and beautiful gardens. In the outskirts of the city there was a very old and strong fort made of black stone.

There was yet another ancient fort close to "Mahajantoli" which was called the "Tower." Within this there are armouries; big and small cannon, of steel, brass and bronze, both ornamental and plain, were kept there, French, Spanish and other national standards captured by the English people in naval and land wars, were exhibited there as trophies. Among these there was a cannon of about 16 cubits long the width of which can be imagined from the fact that if at both ends two persons sit, one would not be able to see the other. Its muzzle was so big, that a tailor could sit within and sew cloths at ease. This gun had been captured in the fort of Edinburgh in Scotland when it was conquered by the King of England.

It was said that a Scotch woman having committed fornication got herself concealed within the muzzle and gave birth to a child there. For one year her paramour used to come stealthily at night and supply her with food. In a big hall about a lac of guns and pistols were hung round pillars and in another, steel helmets, armour, bucklers, swords, spears etc., were beautifully arranged along the roof and the walls. On the floor below were huge statues of ancient Kings made of steel and bronze, enveloped in full armour and decked with arms, mounted upon wooden horses to show to the people, the likeness of the Kings in whose times these spoils were seized. In another room there was a mint in which coins were struck.

From my narration of the travels of Sheikh I'tesamuddin in 1766, a casual observer might think him to be a man of gay disposition. But quite contrary was the fact. He had passed the meridian of life when he visited England and was strictly a man of religion and dogma. His conservatism and orthodoxy can best be seen from the fact that throughout his long stay in the British Isles he never took a morsel of food prepared by the people of that land. When ever possible his servant Muhammed Muqim cooked his food, but generally he remained without any cooked food and mainly subsisted on Sherbet prepared by himself and a few pieces of dried fruits. On one

occasion he went on "hunger strike" for two weeks. . He was consequently confined to bed and at a time lost all senses. When his condition became grave, Swinton rushed to his rescue and brought him to his senses. The gallant Captain was then compelled to procure for him rice, fowl and other articles which the Sheikh himself cooked. Then after two days he could shake his limbs. Many people asked him how it was that he never fell ill during his long stay abroad. In reply the Sheikh said that he used to prevent disease by eating sparingly, as he was always under the apprehension that once he fell ill these people would give him medicine which needs contain wine as its ingredient, by taking a drop of which he would lose both this world and the next. The MS contains interesting religious discourses on the 'People of the Book' (Christians) quoting anecdotes and traditions of our holy Prophet and often discussing threadbare the virtues and vices in the manners and customs of these people. He never stinted when compliment and tribute were their due and judged things from the point of view of a philosopher, an artist and a humorist: yet withal never forgetting his own religious prejudices.

My object in writing these notes is merely to show to the educated Muslim youngmen of Bengal, the adventurous spirit, the breadth of vision and the masterful exposition of things quite foreign to oriental imagination, by an old gentleman of perhaps a neglected countryside of ours, at a period when Muslim India was fast approaching towards doom and destruction. I shall therefore limit my article to just as brief an account of interesting items as possible leaving it to abler people to take up the translation of the MS. I do not claim to be a good judge. But I venture to think that from the point of view of Persian language the book is a tribute to the marvellous literary ability of a countryside Bengalee gentleman of the eighteenth century. As such it is my fondest hope that the original language should also be preserved in print.

The King and the Queen.

When the author of the 'Shagarfnameh' was in England, George III was the reigning sovereign. He was then 45 years old and was said to have been endowed with all the qualities of a King. The Queen was a lady of short stature but pretty-looking and was the daughter of the King of Denmark. When the Sheikh was in England they had then 12 children. The King and the queen used to come out in a carriage drawn by 8 horses with postillions and liveried footmen, led by guards and followed by about 60 cavalymen with spears in their hands.

St. James Park.

The King's palace was not very imposing. Even its walls were not white-washed as was the case with ordinary mercantile buildings (which were often of three, four or five stories high). The Queen's house was called St. James Palace situated on the west of the garden of that name. Within an enclosure a large number of deer and antelopes could be seen running about. The

edifice was a very attractive one and worthy of the noble queen. Almost attached to the palace was the Park of St. James. There was an avenue in this garden about 2 miles long towards the east and half a bigha in width, towards the north of which was a crystal-like stream of water sufficiently deep. On both sides of the avenue nut and apricot trees shed delightful shade. Multi-coloured flowers, studding promenades, walks and lawns flung scents and aroma around to refresh the brain. Every where lovely girls with silvery limbs like 'Peacocks in extasy' abandoned themselves to mirth and merriments. Here and there graceful youngmen and charming women were busy in cuddling and wooing or striking their limbs to the tune of the music. On seeing the splendour of the panorama the Sheikh involuntarily exclaimed the familiar couplet:—

If there be paradise in this earth,
It is here, it is here, it is here.

The Regent Park.

The King's garden was a very ancient one established by the Kings of old, with a circumference of about 5 miles. Evergreen orchids and shrubs and delightful avenues, promenades and lawns were the special features of this garden. Flower beds were laid out there in beautiful triangular, square, octagonal and round shapes. Avenues full of trees of European origin like apples, pears, peach, nuts and currants could be seen there in abundance. Fruit trees of pineapples, water melons and oranges and flowers like tulips, tuberoses, balsams, marigolds and coxcomb as found in India could also be seen there. As owing to severe cold fruits and flowers of tropical countries like India could not be grown there, a space had been walled up on three sides with an opening on the north. This opening had been enclosed in glasses in such a way that outside draught could not enter into it but at the same time admitted the heat and ray of the sun. During extreme cold heating ovens were placed inside it to procure the temperature requisite for its preservation. By this troublesome process the expert gardeners of London preserved fruits and flowers of tropical origin and grew them to such perfection that sometimes one pineapple was sold for a guinea. Camphire (Mehendee) blocks and tatties were so ingeniously cropped and clipped into human and animal forms that one mistook them at night to be living beings. In the gardens of Oxford of 500 years old this kind of tatties could be seen.

The Westminster Abbey.

The Cathedral of Westminster was a very ancient monument of stupendous size and was founded by the King of Denmark during his rule of this country. But it still looked new. Within the edifice old paintings and pictures of strange beings were depicted on the walls and ceilings, engraved and painted by famous artists of the world. There was a statue of a lady standing on a pedestal about 3 cubits from the ground. It was so artistically carved and elegantly chiselled that every lineament of her body, her graceful pose,

the proportion of her limbs, her clear-cut face and even the coil and curl of her hair were so faithfully depicted that the Sheikh at first could not distinguish it as live or dead until it was closely examined. It was said that the Kings of Denmark during their long rule of this country constructed many such monuments and had them repleted with relief and other statuary and painting procured at enormous cost from Egypt, Syria and Rome. Close to the Abbey there was the Westminster bridge. The bridge was about the breadth of Calcutta river and was wide enough for the passage of 4 carriages abreast. Below the bridge were arches under which boats passed to and fro. It used to be said that except the bridges of Constantinople and Baghdad no such bridge existed in the world. But the Sheikh was also told that another such bridge was recently constructed somewhere. Close by, there was another church in which famous men of the country used to be buried. Their coffins were embalmed and wrapped with certain leaves and laid in chests within a vault where, one could examine the condition of the coffin should necessity arise. But in so doing a great caution was necessary because slightest outside air would decompose the body.

The Brobdignagian woman.

Close to the Hay Market a woman of prodigious size was being exhibited on tickets. The Sheikh purchased a ticket and went in. She was of about eight feet high. No sooner she learnt that a 'black Indian' was coming to see her, she ran towards the Sheikh and with all the merriments and glee stood by his side. The Sheikh looked as small below her form as a 'star before the flaming sun'. Her very wrist was perhaps thicker than the Sheikh's thigh. But in spite of her extraordinary stature she was a very pretty woman. All the limbs and other parts of her body were quite in harmony with her form and proportionate to her stature. She was as frisky and lithe as an ordinary woman.

The Rescue Asylum.

In London there was a big house maintained by the State in which infants and children of indigent people were taken to be reared up. They were brought up there with all the motherly care and attention and trained in different kinds of arts and crafts. After training they came out to earn their own living. Many babies of illegitimate birth were often left stealthily at the asylum door by their sinning mothers with their navel-string freshly cut. No sooner the doctors and nurses attached to the asylum noticed them, they at once ran up to claim the babies and afterwards nursed them with so much tenderly affection as if they were their own babies. In this way they made these children grow into useful members of society.

The 'Madrassah' of Oxford.

The town of Oxford was about two stages off from London. It contained a very ancient institution. Some of its buildings and churches were more than a thousand years old. But they were still very strong and were being

jealously preserved. The people had a remarkable craze of preserving anything old specially things of historical origin. Some of its gardens also were of very old origin. But they looked as if they were recently laid out. The walls of the buildings were of black stone with roofing of wood often protected by iron and bronze joists. All around beautiful gardens were laid out and trees had been clipped and cut into human and animal forms. In one room innumerable Persian and Arabic books and manuscripts were laid. The book "Kalela-Dimna" (Piplays Fables) was also found there. Here the Sheikh copied for Swinton the concluding portion of the 'Ferhan-i-Jehangree' (a Persian Dictionary). Mr. Jones of Calcutta court (afterwards the famous Sir William Jones of the Asiatic Society of Bengal) was met there. On the request of Swinton and Mr. Jones, the Sheikh fully deciphered three letters written in Turkish language by the Sultan of Behrain(?) to the King of England. While on board the sloop from India Captain Swinton read with the Sheikh the whole of the book 'Kalela Dimna' and translated 12 chapters of the 'Farhan-in-Jahangiree'. With the help of this translation Mr. Jones wrote his famous book 'Shekeristan' (perhaps this is the explanatory notes on Sadi's Gulistan) and sold the copies to rich people of this country at high price.

Many paintings of men and women were seen there executed by renowned artists of the world. Exquisite marble statuaries modelled and finished by famous sculptors of Egypt and Rome were also there. They were still in search of such paintings and statutes in different parts of the world and would offer enormous sums of money to secure them. They did not mind spending even two lacs of rupees to secure these rare specimens of art. There was a story current about it in the country. Once a reputed artist in order to depict the graphic crucifixion scene of Jesus Christ, enticed a poor man into a secret corner of his house. There the wretched man was made senseless and nails were hammered into his feet. The artist who were ready with his brush for this unique scene, immediately transferred to his canvas all the details of the features of the dying man in their vivid realism. The barbarity of the incident was however publicly known and the artist was hauled up for execution. Before going to the place of execution the artist had the painting brought to him and painted it black and had it disfigured. For this the man was taken before the king who, asked him why he disfigured this unique specimen of art. The man replied that he produced a masterpiece which was applauded by the nation and which he executed merely at the sacrifice of a poor tramp. Now as he was being impaled for the crime it was of no use to preserve his production. The king then asked him if he could restore the painting to its original condition if he were pardoned. The man replying in the affirmative, restored the painting and was set free. The Sheikh remarked that this was the state of appreciation of art and scholarship of the nation and regretted to observe that if in his own country any one by his scholarship and application became distinguished as a 'Plato of the age' all the people would pull him down. In consequence the unfortunate man would sink back into oblivion.

Captain Archibald Swinton.

Leaving aside many other important items specially the political institutions like the houses of Parliament and its constituent bodies and the efficient and corporate system of education there, laid in sad contrast with those then prevalent in Hindustan, I am now hurrying down to the home of our jolly-good host Captain Archibald Swinton, at Edinburgh in Scotland, in order to give the reader a glimpse into the life and, history of this extraordinary man. It will be found how this man rose to distinction by sheer dint of merit, industry and perseverance.

The Sheikh reached the town of Edinburgh taking with him the notes of his Shagarfnamah. We went to the home of the Swintons where he visited their father, an old man of more than 70 years and his mother, a 60 year old lady. The Swintons were three brothers and two sisters. The eldest was John Swinton. The two sisters were full-grown women but still unmarried. In Scotland as well as in England women were often gifted with fine accomplishments. They chose their own husbands. But men, in choosing their own mates of life, always kept eyes on their wealth and not on their qualities. In a free country like this where number of women much exceeded men, no body cared a bit to marry a woman without wealth, although there were plenty of them endowed with finest qualities. For this reason many of them never saw the face of husbands and spent their life in celibacy. Therefore where the number of the softer sex was so plentiful no one appreciated their worth as wives. In this connection the Sheikh gave a significant analogy. He said that in India where long red chillies and tamarind were so much in abundance no body cared to purchase them even for a farthing. But if these things were brought to this country they would be worth a guinea.

The Swintons derived the name of their family from the event when one of their brave ancestors killed a wild white boar in his country. As swine was another word for boar, the family derived the name of Swinton from this incident. In this way each member of the individual family was known by a surname derived from some such historic incident and was identified by the emblems of such animals and other beings. They engraved the emblems on their seals and signets or painted them on their books and carriages. The old Swinton still passes his time in painting and drawing and in spite of his old age never wastes his time. Captain Archibald Swinton learnt Anatomy, Medicine and Surgery in some English school. Then being pressed by poverty, he fled from home and settled himself as physician and surgeon in the Malay Peninsula and Pegu. After practising there for some time, he came to Madras and attached himself to Lord Clive. Under Clive he rendered sterling services in the wars. He was then sent in charge of a battalion to invest Tipperah Rawshanabad which country he conquered by his valour. Afterwards he served under Major Adam and distinguished himself in the war with Nawab Kasemali Khan in Mungyr and Azimabad. He then served under General Charnock in the train of Shah Alum Badshah-i-Ghazi in the wars in Cora, Jehanabad and Kalpi and acquired further fame and glory by his chivalry and conquest. He was an adviser and companion of Gen. Charnock in the

negotiations with Nawab Shujauddawla. It might be interesting to some readers to know that this gallant gentleman's name is still remembered in Dacca by old people as "Soolteen Sahib". It was to this officer that Nawab Jesarat Khan delivered his charge of Nayeb-Nizamet at his Bara-Katra palace and then removed his residence to the site where the Dacca Museum now stands. It may be observed that this gallant officer was also a good Persian scholar.

To the prospective translator of the MS I would point out that another copy of the Shagarfnameh can be found in the possession of one Mr. Raghunath Singh of 299, Panhari Gali, Delhi. It will be necessary to collate and compare all the MSS in order to arrive at a correct detail, specially in respect of foreign proper names transcribed into Persian.

SYED A. S. M. TAIFOR.

Jean Pierre Muller.

AN UNKNOWN FRENCH ARTIST IN CALCUTTA.

1803—1807.

WE translate the following from M. Maurice Besson's *Les Aventuriers Français aux Indes 1775—1820* (Paris 1932—page 252). Nothing is known in Calcutta of any works by this French artist, J. P. Muller, and he finds no mention in Sir William Foster's notices of Foreign European Artists in India which were published in Volume XL of *Bengal: Past and Present*.

* * * * *

Captain-adjutant Binot (who had been left at Pondicherry by General Decaen) was forced to capitulate on September 10, 1803, and was sent with his men to the Cape of Good Hope. But before Pondicherry was definitely surrendered, he had time to send to the Mahratta camp, where General Perron then was, a young lieutenant full of zeal and capacity, named Muller, who was attached to the 18th brigade. He was a young man of 23 years of age, a blond and tall Alsatian, born at Landau who had enlisted as a *tapin* (drummer) in the armies of the Republic as a boy of thirteen. He had then served in the marine corps, the colonial infantry and later on the dragoons and on the 1st Ventôse of the year XI was a second lieutenant in the 18th half-brigade. Jean Pierre Muller spoke English, German and Italian and on sailing from Brest had set himself to study Hindustani and Persian. He accepted with joy the mission entrusted to him by Binot; the task was not easy, for the English authorities were on the watch. In order to penetrate into the north and to reach the Mahratta country, he received for his travelling expenses the scanty sum of a hundred rupees. Happily as we shall see, the ex-volunteer of the Army of the Rhine had a certain talent as a painter. Thanks to his palette, he arrived at Madras and obtained from the English Commissary a passport as a "German artist." From Madras, it was necessary to travel northward as far as the Ganges.

"I embarked on a small and frail and open boat for Coringa. I arrived at Coringa on August 15, 1803 and proceeded at once to Ianaoum [Yanaon] who lay at a distance of a few miles. I then set out from Coringa on a *parria* [sic] which was bound for Calcutta and on September 12 we anchored on the shore of the mouth of the Chilka Lake. I was proposing to land at day break at the village of Manikpatam and was about to embark in the boat when we perceived, to the south, a squadron which was approaching us under full sail. It was Admiral Rainier. . . . The vessels anchored a quarter of a league from us, and from that moment nothing would induce my lascars to put me on shore. A few days later we cast anchor at Jutgilly [? Hijli].

I took a boat to go up the Ganges to Calcutta where I arrived on the day that war against the Republic was proclaimed." The unfortunate defeat of Perron and the fall of Allighur were announced at the same moment. Muller saw his plans were frustrated: of what use was to try and reach the territory of Sindhia, since the French had in effect been expelled from India and the party of Perron with the remnant of de Boigne's brigades, had been destroyed. There was nothing for it but to throw his box of colours into a corner and allow himself to be arrested by the English as a French officer: and this became the more necessary as there was very little left of Binot's hundred louis. Our officer was interned at Calcutta for several years and sent back to France in 1807. During his four years' internment, Muller lived by painting portraits. There may be existing in England certain canvases by this unknown painter, representing red-coated officers, and in India, in certain palaces, there may be paintings signed by Muller of nababs, rajahs, and merchants of pearls. But while he was making his livelihood by his brush Muller was busy collecting material regarding the possibility of an invasion of India. Hence he was able to send to General Decaen, at the moment of his departure for France, a very complete *Mémoire*. The colonial archives at Paris contain another *Mémoire* on the same subject drawn up by him in 1807 and intended for Talleyrand. Muller who had suffered from the climate of India, was placed on the retired list and took up his residence at Landau.

E. C.

An old Seminary at Bhagalpur.

THE record room of the Bhagalpur Collectorate contains among its vast collection of old records a letter dated the 1st August, 1783 A.D. from the Superintendent of Boglipoore an old form of spelling and pronouncing "Bhagalpur" as used in early official correspondence to John Shore, President of the Committee of Revenue, Fort William, referring to the history of an educational institution at Bhagalpur established some three hundred years ago. The official letter, in question, relates at length the origin and history of the seminary and of its founder and his successors, the names of the various Mughal Emperors who patronised it their grant of land and allowance, the amount of the grant thus made, the account of the monthly expenditure requisite for its running and so forth. Thus, the record mentioned above is a very valuable document relating to the system of education that prevailed at Bhagalpur prior to the advent of the Hon'ble East India Company, and it throws a new light upon a very old educational institution now almost in oblivion but once an important centre for imparting education to the people living at Bhagalpur.

It was so early as the reign of the Mughal Emperor Jahangir that the Seminary at Bhagalpur was set up by Moulānā Shālo Bāz Muhammad, originally a native of Bihar, the Moulānā contracted a marriage alliance with a respectable family of Bhagalpur where he migrated and ultimately settled down. The Moulānā soon became noted for his piety, learning and knowledge and his attainments soon attracted a large following which numbered nearly 200. The recurring monthly expenses of his institution was met out of a fund established from the ungrudging bounty of the charitable and the ever-increasing generosity of the wealthy.

The Moulānā died during the early part of the reign of Shahjehan leaving behind him four sons of whom Moulānā Muhammad Salām succeeded his father. It was in 1063 H. that Shah Shuja, the second Prince, who had assumed regal titles in Bengal, favoured Salām with a grant of nearly 500 *bighas* of land from Pargana Colgong and subsequently with 19 *bighas* from pargana Bhagalpur with a view to the maintenance of the institution and erecting a suitable building for it. In addition to the grant thus made, suitable provisions were also made for the support of Salām's family. Thus, it is said that, the total number of scholars on the roll was nearly 150, each and all of whom were given not only free education, but were also provided with board, lodging and clothing without any charge whatsoever.

Salām was succeeded by his second brother Latif and the latter by Moulāna Muhammad Taghi, the third son of Moulāna Shāh Bāz. During Taghi's time, nearly 200 *bighas* of land carrying a monthly revenue of Rs. 16/- in Pargana Colgong was granted to the Seminary, the deed of gift being made under the seal of **Amir-ul-omrah**, probably the Mughal representative or the Military Fouzdar of Bhagalpur. Under Taghi, the number of students and attendants attached to the Seminary continued increasing, so that there was an addition of 50 to the already existing 150 in the roll.

Under Moulānā Muhammad Afsun, the nephew and successor of Taghi, the institution not only acquired a wide reputation, but it was also organised as a fraternity of learned and religious people. Fresh grants of land were made and the Emperor Aurangzeb carved out some portion from the parganas Bhagalpur and Colgong and bestowed them for the upkeep of that house of learning. But ultimately, for reasons not sufficiently known, the gratuities and bounties unluckily falling far short of the required amount, there was a set back to the further progress and future development of the Seminary with the result that, the number of students fell off and the total was thus reduced to 80, less than half the old number.

Muhammad Hafiz succeeded his father Afsun in the reign of Farrukhsiyar. The Emperor, like his predecessors, earned the gratitude of the public by his grant of a subsistence allowance of Rupees Four and annas nine and a donation of land to Hafiz in the parganas of Bhagalpur and Kherry. Still the Seminary showed no improvement and pursued its downward course, so that the number of students decreased from 80 to 60 only.

Hafiz was succeeded by his brother Moulānā Muhammad 'Aqil in Muhammad Shah's reign. It is somewhat pleasing to note that under Hafiz the number on the roll increased to nearly 150.

After 'Aqil came his brother Muhammad Abid. The latter was favoured with grants of land in the parganas of Chchye and Bhagalpur, from the Emperors Muhammad Shāh, 'Alamgir II and Shāh 'Alam between the years 1148-75 H. His allowance was also increased to Rupees Six and Annas Eight. But 'Aquil was not worthy enough to put a check to the rapid decline of the institution that had begun during Afsun's incumbency. The number of students showed a continuous and gradual falling off, till it figured only 30, a fraction of what it was in the past.

In the year 1783 A.D., when the despatch was written by the Superintendent of Bhagalpur, Moulānā Muhammad Mowahude was the chief of the institution. He received grants in the pargana of Bhagalpur in addition to the whole village of Afzulpur in pargana Colgong and Rupees Four and Annas Eight as personal allowance from Shāh 'Alam, the Emperor.

Even so late as the third decade of the nineteenth century we come across a reference to the family of Moulvis living at Bhugalpur in the

topographical and historical account of Martin, the accredited agent of the East India Company. In course of his tour through Eastern India, the itinerant happened to visit Bhagalpur where he heard of one Muhammad Faiz who was deeply versed in Arabic and respected and loved for his learning and scholarship. The family to which Faiz belonged and of which he was the patriarch could boast of no less than twenty members all of whom had taken to the teaching profession. They would charge no tuition fee from their students. Martin has given no geneological table of Faiz's family, but it would not be very wrong to suppose that, Faiz was related to Moulānā Shāh Bāz, the original founder of the Bhagalpur Seminary. The number of families living at Montachauk just on the southern side of the modern railway station of Bhagalpur claim their descent from Moulānā Shāh Bāz and also assert that the Seminary was situated in the locality they now live in.

We now revert to our Despatch of 1783 A.D. It furnishes us also with an account of the recurring expenditure incurred for the upkeep of the Seminary. We are told a sum of Rupees 187/- was monthly spent towards establishment. The teaching staff consisted of one Superintendent, known as *Mutawalli* and his five assistants. The Superintendent enjoyed a salary of Rs. 40/- per month, and the total monthly allowance of his five assistants amounted to Rs. 110/-. In addition to the total expenditure of Rs. 150/- as mentioned above, a sum of Rs. 37/-, thus making a total of Rs. 187/-, was spent towards establishment of servants, in the following order,

2 Clerks or accountants	...	...	Rs. 5/-
2 Cooks	...	...	5/-
1 Waterman	...	...	2/-
1 Barber	...	...	2/-
1 Washerman	...	...	3/-
1 Sweeper	...	...	1/-
1 Mehtar	...	...	1/-
1 Peon or Runner*	...	...	18/-

An account of the boarding expenses of the scholars is given thus. It throws a side-light on the price of articles in those days.

			Rs.	As.	Gandas
Rice (15 mds.)	...	...	15	0	0
Dāl (3 mds. 30 seers)	...	...	5	0	0
Salt (37 seers)	...	...	5	5	17½
Oil (1 md. 35 seers)	...	...	10	0	15
Fuel	...	...	7	8	0
Condiment	...	...	5	0	0
Earthen pots, mats etc.	...	...	1	0	0
Paper and stationary	...	...	9	6	0

(1) The ms. reads Tayer. In Persian as *Taiyār* meaning running swiftly, and hence a runner.

The following amount was spent for the supply of garment to the scholars—

40 turbans	...	...	price Rs.	80	0	0
„ Cloak	...	...	„ „	100	0	0
„ Chaddar	...	...	„ „	40	0	0
„ Trouser	...	...	„ „	20	0	0
„ Quilts	...	...	„ „	80	0	0
Cotton 20 seers	...	...	„ „	8	0	0
Shoes	...	...	„ „	10	0	0
Sheet*	...	...	„ „	2	8	0

K. K. BASU.

(2) The ms. reads Nattaine. In Persian as nat'ā meaning a sheet, usually of leather used for eating or gaming on.

Anglo-Indian Monumental Inscriptions in Kent & Sussex.

DURING a recent stay at Tunbridge Wells, I visited a number of churches and graveyards in Kent and Sussex, and transcribed the following monumental inscriptions bearing on families which served in India. The serial numbers appended are in continuation of former lists of M. I. which I have published in *Bengal : Past and Present*.

Old cemetery, Tunbridge Wells, Kent.

- 1406. Harriet Batt, eldest daughter of Lt.-Col. J. B. BACKHOUSE, C.B., Bengal Artillery ; born 5 January 1851, died 17 August 1893. Caroline Batt, 5th daughter of the same, died 10 July 1928, aged 75. (Several other Backhouse M.I.).
- 1407. Robert WILLIAMS, Bengal C.S., died Tunbridge Wells, 13 Sept. 1886, in his 90th year. Sarah, daughter of the late James Williams, Esq. formerly of Walthamstow, Essex, born 27 August 1793, died 10 Sept. 1880. Stone placed by only surviving brother.
- 1408. Hugh Vans HATHORN, Bengal C.S., died 23 Nov. 1882, aged 78.
- 1409. Frances WELLS, widow of Richard Wells, Bengal C.S., died 27 January 1878. Also her brother and sister, Cornwallis Richard CARTWRIGHT, of Sunbury House, Tunbridge Wells, died 18 February 1870 ; and Alicia Laura Cartwright his wife, died 7 January 1867.
- 1410. Rev. Edward Thos. CLARKE of Hurst-Wood Lodge, Tunbridge Wells, (formerly a captain in 37th Madras N.I.), born 24 Sept. 1802, died 2 (?) Aug. 1868 (?). Eliza Rebecca, widow of above and also widow of Capt. J. Elliott BINGHAM, R.N.; born 1 Sept. 1819, died 16 April 1901. (Capt. Bingham and another wife of his are buried in adjoining grave).
- 1411. Col. Sir Henry YULE, R.E., C.B., K.C.S.I., Member of the Council of India. Sometime Secretary to the Government of India in the Public Works Dept. Born at Inveresk, N.B., 1 May 1820, died in London 30 Dec. 1889. Mary Wilhelmina, daughter of Fulwar and Mary Philadelphia SKIPWITH, and wife of Col. Henry Yule, C.B., R.E., "whose life she blessed for four short years" ; born at Chittagong, 6 Dec. 1840 ; married at Tunbridge Wells, 2 June 1877; died there, 26 April 1881.

Withyham Church, Sussex.

- 1412. (Mural tablet in Sackville chapel). Fanny Charlotte daughter of Major General William DICKSON, C.B., E.I.C.S., and wife of

Mortimer Sackville West, 4th son of George John 5th Earl de la Warr. Born 26 Dec. 1822, died 19 Dec. 1852.

Brenchley churchyard, Kent.

1413. Ann DAVIS of Henrietta Street, Cavendish square, and last surviving daughter of Joseph Davis H.E.I.C.S.; died 13 January 1879, aged 72.

Brenchley Church, Kent.

1414. (Mural tablet) Col. Patrick HAY, H.E.I.C.S., 4th son of Thomas Hay, Lord Huntingdon, of the Court of Session, Scotland, and uncle of Sir Thomas Hay who succeeded as 5th baronet of Alderstone. Distinguished both as a soldier and oriental scholar, he served as A.D.C. and Persian interpreter to Gen. Sir Eyre Coote during his memorable campaign in the Carnatic against Hyder Ali. He died at Eynsham Hall, Oxford, 1 April 1822, aged 73, and is buried in a vault within the church of that parish. Also, in memory of Sarah his wife, 4th daughter of Robert DASHWOOD of Vallow-wood, Stogumber in the county of Dorset, and sister of the Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Dashwood, K.C.B., K.T. & S. etc. She died 19 January 1850 and is buried in the vault beneath... Erected...by their grandson J. H. Hay Ruxton of Broad Oak.

Frant churchyard, Sussex.

1415. Major-Gen. Alexander BEATSON of Knowle in the county of Sussex and late Governor of the Island of St. Helena, died 15 Oct. 1830, aged 70. His 4th son, Stephen Reid, born 3 June 1817; died 7 Dec. 1817. His eldest son, Alexander David, born 10 January 1807; died Chatham, 7 January 1825. His youngest daughter, Letitia Allan, died 22 April 1893, aged 72. His 6th daughter, Georgiana Oakeley Malcolm, widow of Samuel Newington, of Ridgeway, Ticehurst; died 7 May 1898, aged 79. His 4th daughter, Caroline Harriet Lysaght, widow of John Lysaght, died 13 Aug. 1899, aged 84. His son, Major-Gen. Albert Balcombe Beatson, died Bath, 2 January 1911, aged 87.
1416. (Mural tablet, Frant church). These choir stalls and the adjoining reredos were erected in the year 1922 by John Quiller ROWLETT of Ely Place, Frant, in memory of his father John Quiller Rowlett of Polperro, Cornwall, who died in Rangoon, Burma, on the 16 Sept. 1876; and of his brother Richard Percy Rowlett who died in Rangoon, Burma, on the 17 April 1898.

New cemetery, Hawkenbury, Tunbridge Wells, Kent.

1417. Trevenen James HOLLAND, C.B., Lieut-Col. Bombay Army; born 31 May 1834; died 21 Feb. 1910. Margaret Emma his wife; born 31 March 1840; died 7 Dec. 1922.
1418. Jane MARSACK, widow of George Hartwell Marsack; died 16 Feb. 1874, aged 76; and her daughter Mary SIMONDS, died 21 Sept. 1903, aged 74.

1419. William Howells RIX, died 24 May 1910, aged 73 ; and his wife Rosalie Jane Rix, youngest daughter of George Hartwell Marsack, died 11 April 1922, aged 85.
1420. Emily ERSKINE, widow of Wm. David Erskine, 7th Madras Light Cavalry ; born 23 June 1818 ; died 9 May 1897 ; also her daughter Keith Helen Erskine ; born 1 March 1836 ; died 21 April 1915.
1421. Olivia Elizabeth, widow of Wm. Gordon THOMSON, Esq. of Wadhurst, Sussex, who died at Tunbridge Wells, 10 March 1891, in her 76th year ; also her son George Cadogan Thomson, late Colonel 1st Bengal Cavalry ; died 20 Sept. 1896 in his 61st year. Also his wife Harriet Anne Adelaide, died 11 May 1927 in her 82nd year ; and their two sons Capt. Wm. Gordon Thomson, 1st Suffolk Regt., died at Pretoria, 9 June 1900, in his 35th year, and Major John Bustie Cook Thomson, 1st P.A. Somerset Light Infantry, died Aldershot 25 August 1913 in his 44th year.
1422. Elizabeth GALL widow of Major G. L. H. Gall, Commandant of the 2nd Oudh Irregular Cavalry during the siege of Lucknow ; died 23 May 1898 in her 67th year.
1423. Duncan STEWART, M.D., H.M. Bengal Medical Service, died Tunbridge Wells, 27 March 1875 ; and Margaret his wife, died at Bath 11 May 1895, aged 75. Major-Gen. James Calder Stewart, died 1 July 1930, aged 90.
1424. Major-General East APTHORP, C.B., died 3 March 1875, aged 69.
1425. Catherine Harriet BABINGTON, widow of S. Babington, Esq., Bombay C.S., judge of the Sudder Adaulat ; born 8 January 1793 ; died 11 March 1876.
1426. Lieut.-Col. Wm. Kirkman LOYD formerly of the Madras Artillery ; born 9 Oct. 1809 ; died Broadwater Down, Tunbridge Wells, 14 June 1879.
1427. Chas. Mackenzie HALL, Colonel late 5th Punjab Infantry, died 20 April 1896, aged 52 ; and his widow Maria Meyrick Hall, died 14 March 1920, aged 78.
1428. Wm. George HERBERT, Lieut.-Col. R.E. (Bombay Engineers) ; died 13 January 1885, aged 74 ; and his widow Barbara, died 20 May 1915, aged 96.
1429. Hester Mary, daughter of Lieut.-Col. HARRIS, died 3 January 1889, aged 72. Her sister, Clementina Anne, died 12 January 1906, aged 80 ; and her mother, Mary, widow of Lieut.-Col. Harris, Madras Army, died 30 March 1884, aged 84.

St. Mark's parish church, Broadwater Down, Tunbridge Wells.

1430. (Mural tablet) Major-General A. FITZHUGH, C.B., born 31 January 1837 ; died 22 February 1929 ; late H.M. 5th Royal Gurkha Rifles.

Speldhurst Church, Kent.

Mural tablets.

1431. Charles BECHER, Esq. late of Chancellor House in this parish,

formerly of the Bengal C.S.; died at Nice 16 July 1842, aged 60, where his remains are interred.

1432. John BECHER, late of Mount Ephraim, Tunbridge Wells, died 28 March 1830. Erected by his brother Richard Becher.
1433. Charles Grant BECHER, son of Charles Becher, Esq., late of Chancellor House in this parish, lieut.-col. in the 8th Bengal Cavalry, who died on active service at Indore during the Indian Mutiny on 2 April 1859, aged 46. Erected by his eldest son Chas. Adrian Gough Becher, Captain 1st King's Dragon Guards. Also to Henrietta Macdonald widow of the above, died Brighton, 18 January 1890, aged 65.
1434. Three children of Coll. Christopher HODGSON and Elizabeth his wife : Henry Griffith, died Bombay 7 Aug. 1818, aged 18 months : Anthony John, ensign 4th Bombay N.I., died Mahableshtar, 20 February 1834, aged 19 years : Gertrude Marion, died Tunbridge Wells, 9 June 1835, aged 7 months.
1435. Christopher Chas. HODGSON, 4th and 2nd surviving son of Major-Gen. Christopher Hodgson ; died Karachi, 26 Nov. 1842, aged 21.
1436. Harriett Isabella, wife of Lieut. Septimus HODGSON, 2nd Regt. Madras Light Cavalry, died Jalna, 1 Nov. 1854, aged 21.
1437. Christopher HODGSON, Major-Gen. H.E.I.C.'s Bombay Artillery ; died Tunbridge Wells, 16 Apr. 1849, aged 65 ; and his wife Elizabeth, died at Hingham, Norfolk, 16 Aug. 1859, aged 67.

Speldhurst churchyard.

1438. William Andrew NESBITT, Esq., late of Bombay ; died 19 April 1807, aged 36, erected by his widow. Also his daughter Marianne, died 18 November 1806, aged 2 years 9 months.
1439. Charlotte, widow of the late Charles MARSACK, Esq. of Caversham Park, Oxon., died 26 February 1837, aged 69. Also John BECHER of Chancellor House, Mount Ephraim, Tunbridge Wells, died 28 March 1830, aged 64. Also Henrietta Macdonald Becher, aged 65. (Date of death of last-mentioned not given ; but see No. 1433).

Church of St. John the Divine, Tunbridge Wells.

1440. (Mural tablets & window). David Thompson HATCHELL, Col. Indian Staff Corps ; born 2 April 1839 ; died 6 Nov. 1926. Eliza Emilie for over 44 years his wife ; born 30 April 1839 ; died 16 June 1906. Edward Evan Hatchell, trooper C. Squadron Paget's Horse (68th Imperial Yeomanry), killed S. Africa 24 Feb. 1902, aged 23.

St. Paul's churchyard, Rusthall, Tunbridge Wells.

1441. Mary Anne FRENCH widow of Thomas Valpy French D.D., first Bishop of Lahore ; born 15 July 1826 ; died 18 Oct. 1912.
1442. Henry Travers OWEN, Esq. late H.E.I.C.'s Bengal C.S., died at Fairlight, Tunbridge Wells, 22 January 1872, aged 72.

1443. Frances, wife of H. G. KEENE, H. M.'s Bengal C.S.; born 20 Aug. 1827 ; married 10 February 1849 ; died 1 Sept. 1862.
1444. Ensign Stanhope Berehaven TAYLOR (whose remains lie beneath) 3rd son of Wm. Stanhope Taylor Esq., was killed at Jhansi, Central India, by the mutineers of his regiment the 12th Bengal N.I. on 5 June 1857, aged 20.
1445. Jessie Louisa, wife of F. ANDERSON, M.D., Deputy Inspector General of Hospitals, H. M.'s Indian Army, & daughter of Rev. Chas. Garbett, A.M., died Tunbridge Wells, 19 Nov. 1865, aged 24.

Bidborough Church, near Tonbridge, Kent.

1446. Bradford HARDINGE, Bengal C.S., 4th son of General Hardinge, R.A.; died 31 July 1861, aged 38. Also his infant son, Harry Callander, aged one year, who survived his father only 4 days. Also his mother Caroline I. Hardinge, died 5 January 1874, aged 74. Also his wife Caroline Jane Christina, died 27 January 1926, aged 80.
1447. Louis Robert Baron de ROLL de Emmenholz in the Canton of Soleure, Count of the Holy Roman Empire, Knight of the Military Order of St. Louis, Adjutant General to H. R. H. Monsieur Comte d'Artois, Major General, and Colonel of the Rolls Swiss Regiment in H.B.M.'s service. Died at Bounds, 27 Aug. 1813, aged 64.

Bidborough Church, Kent.

Mural tablets.

1448. Guy Lushington PRENDERGAST [Madras C.S.], author of a Complete Concordance to the Iliad of Homer & also to the poetical works of Milton, eldest surviving son of Guy Lenox Prendergast, formerly M.P. for Lymington, Hants.; born 3 Aug. 1806 ; died 5 Nov. 1887 ; buried All Souls' cemetery, Kensal Green. Also his wife Catherine Jane, daughter of Sir James Annesley [Madras Medical Establishment], born 31 July 1811 ; died Madras 10 Aug. 1839. Also his eldest son, Col. Reynolds Stephen James Prendergast, 2nd Madras Cavalry, died at sea 18 Aug. 1887, aged 56. Also Elizabeth Sophia, daughter of General Wm. Justice, Madras Army, 2nd wife of Guy Lushington Prendergast ; born 19 Oct. 1836 ; died 28 March 1899.
1449. Major Geo. Nicholas HARDINGE, Bengal Army, served in the Sutlej and Punjab campaigns and throughout the defence of Lucknow from the effects of which memorable siege he died on his passage Home in March 1858, aged 29 Also his father Major-Gen. Richard Hardinge, K.H., R.A., served in three last Wellington campaigns died 20 July 1864, aged 74 ; and his wife Caroline Johnstone Hardinge, born 12 June 1799, died 5 January 1874. [G. N. Hardinge died at the Sandheads in the Hughli, 16 March 1858].

St. Peter's Church, Pembury, Kent.

1450. (Mural tablet) Matthew Charles DIXON, Major-General Royal Artillery, V.C., of Woodsgate in this parish ; died 7 January 1905, aged 84.

Old Church, Pembury, Kent.

1451. (Mural tablets) Charles Henry WOODGATE, Madras C.S., 3rd son of late Rev. Stephen Woodgate vicar of this parish, died at sea off Aden 30 Oct. 1856 ; also his eldest son by his wife Alicia Frances, Charles Shaw Campbell Woodgate, died at Palamcottah, after two days' illness, 20 Dec. 1855, aged 3 years and 3 months.
1452. Henry Hawley SHAW, died Calcutta 8 March 1897, aged 34 ; and Agneta Maude his wife, died 6 Oct. 1933, aged 71.

Lamberhurst Church, Kent.

Mural tablets.

1453. Frances Julia, daughter of Lieut.-General Sir Jasper NICHOLLS, K.C.B., sometime Commander-in-Chief in India, and wife of Rev. Robert Hawkins, M.A., vicar of this parish ; born 15 February 1820 ; died 9 April 1864, leaving 4 sons and 2 daughters.
1454. Ellen daughter of Henry ROUSE Esq. of the Hon'ble East India Company and widow of Cæsar Henry HAWKINS, died 10 January 1913, aged 85.
1455. Cæsar Henry HAWKINS, F.R.S., P.R.C.S., 3rd son of Rev. Edward Hawkins, M.A., rector of Kelston, Somerset ; and grandson of Sir Cæsar Hawkins, Bart., serjeant-surgeon to George II & George III ; born 19 Sept. 1798 ; died 20 July 1884. Surgeon extraordinary and serjeant-surgeon to Queen Victoria. His wife Caroline, daughter of John Dolbel of the Colomberie, Island of Jersey, died 22 Dec. 1858, aged 50.

Sevenoaks parish church, Kent.

1456. (Mural tablet). Augustine ALLEN, Lieut.-Col. Bengal Staff Corps, 5th son of Wm. Houghton Allen Esq. of this parish ; died 1 Nov. aged 46.

H. BULLOCK.

The Editor's Note Book.

Owing to the illness of Sir Evan Cotton, Major H. Bullock, F.R. Hist. S., at present in England, is very kindly contributing to the Editorial and we offer him our best thanks for this assistance.

IN the article on the historic Calcutta firm of Steuart and Co. which we published at the close of 1933 (Vol. XLVI, p. 70) mention was made of a coloured print of "A House Manufactory and Bazar in Calcutta" which was engraved by F. Jukes "From the original picture in possession of James Steuart, Esq." By the courtesy of Messrs. T. H. Parker Ltd. of 28 Berkeley Square, London, W. 1, who have a copy of the print in their possession, we are able to reproduce a photograph of the engraving. The print is uncommon and the last occasion upon which we saw a copy was at the sale in Calcutta some ten years ago of the collection of the late Sir Charles Kesteven. The premises represented are at 8 Old Court House Corner, behind St. Andrew's Church, and were occupied by Steuart & Co. from 1788 to 1907, when the firm removed to 3 Mangoe Lane, where business was carried on until 1930, when the present house at the corner of Free School Street and Park Street was acquired.

NEITHER the date of the engraving nor the name of the painter of the "original picture" is given. But we know that James Steuart, one of the founders of the firm, came out to Calcutta in 1783 and returned to Europe in 1795. As for the artist, we know also from a letter written in 1792 by William Baillie to Ozias Humphry, that he was then employing Solvyns to "embellish" his palankeens. Solvyns sailed from Calcutta in the *Phoenix* in June 1803, and if the artist was Solvyns, as appears probable, the date can be put about 1795. It will be noticed that the products of Messrs. Steuart's industry are prominently displayed: the coach on the right of the print, the palankeen in the centre, and a more primitive conveyance in a recess on the extreme right.

SOME diaries kept by Dyce Sombre are to be found among the exhibits in the case of Dyce Sombre versus Troup in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. These diaries were printed for the appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, in which judgment was delivered on 1 July 1856. They contain a number of references to the various painters with whom Dyce Sombre had transactions and should be read in connexion with the booklet on the Sardhana Pictures at Allahabad,

which was recently reviewed in these pages by Sir Richard Burn. In July and August 1834 there is an account of a dispute between the artist Jiwan Ram and Mr. Trevor: the latter had made a bargain to exchange a pair of pistols for a picture of Jiwan Ram's. The quarrel appears to have been settled in the painter's favour. On 3 Sept., 1834, there is an entry: "Jewan Ram came to take Aga's picture today"—this was Aga Wanus, the Begam's Armenian minister, of whom mention is made in the article on the Legois family by Major H. Bullock which appears elsewhere in this issue under the title of "Some Soldiers of Fortune." Two days later the diarist records that Jiwan Ram took the likeness of "P—J— alias Mr. G. T.", who may perhaps be identified as General George Thomas's son and namesake. On 9 Sept. 1834 there is an entry: "Drever sat for his picture today." This was Thomas Drever, the Bengal Surgeon, who was for some years the Begam's medical attendant. Jiwan Ram provided other diversions for Dyce Sombre: gambling and nautches are mentioned. From another entry we gain an idea of his charges, for on 2 March, 1835, we read: "Won 450 Rs. or the price of a large and small picture by Jeweum (sic) Ram, from Troup, by playing whist." In a future number we hope to revert to these diaries, which contain other mentions of artists and pictures at Sardhana.

A PORTRAIT hangs in the Church Room of the Mission Church which bears the following inscription on the back of the canvas: "The Rev. T. Dealtry D. D. Archdeacon of Calcutta: painted by J. Reynolds Gwatkin: Calcutta 1837". Dealtry was archdeacon from 1835 to 1848, and Bishop of Madras, where he died in 1861, from 1850 to 1861. The picture possesses little artistic merit, but who was the painter? We find our first clue in one of Emily Eden's "Letters Up the Country", written from Simla in September 1840. She mentions meeting a "regular artist" Mr. Gwatkin whose Christian names are those of his great-uncle Sir Joshua Reynolds; and she tells us that Henry Torrens sold three of his oil-paintings. Miss Eden is not quite correct about his Christian names. John Reynolds Gwatkin was the eldest son of Major-General Edward Gwatkin (1784-1855) of the Bengal Army, who died on board the *Hotspur* in April 1855 when off the English coast. Dyce Sombre met J. R. Gwatkin at Calcutta in February 1837 and records in his Diary: "Saw Gwatkin's son the painter at the Cameronians' Mess this evening and immediately knew him, although I had never seen him before." Richard Lovell Gwatkin, the father of General Gwatkin, was a Cornish squire, who married Sir Joshua's favourite niece "Offie" (Theophila Palmer), the original of the "Strawberry Girl" in the Wallace Collection at Hertford House. He acted as chief mourner at Sir Joshua's funeral. "Offie's" elder sister married the Marquis of Thomond who plays a prominent part in the Farington Diary: their father John Palmer who married Sir Joshua's sister was an attorney at Torrington in Devon. John Reynolds Gwatkin married the eldest daughter of Lieut.-Col. William Browne Salmon of the Bengal Army and had a son,

Joshua Reynolds Gascoigne Gwatkin. The family possesses portraits by Sir Joshua of "Offie" and her husband Richard Lovell Gwatkin.

ANOTHER sister of Sir Joshua Reynolds married William Johnson, a woollen draper and three times Mayor of Torrington but for all that not a very reputable person, for he became bankrupt and deserted his wife and their seven children in 1775. Of these seven children William, Richard and Jane found their way to Calcutta. Jane was married in England before her fifteenth birthday to Philip Yonge who was admitted as an advocate of the Supreme Court on June 25, 1782, and served the office of Sheriff in 1785. It was through Yonge that William Hickey sent home a set of Daniell's twelve views of Calcutta as a present for his brother in the year 1788. Jane Yonge had already died on June 15, 1782. William became an important personage in Calcutta. He sailed for Bengal in 1774 "under the protection of Sir Robert Chambers" who procured for him the office of Clerk of the Crown. He married in 1788 the daughter of Colonel William Tolly, the excavator of Tolly's Nullah, and was "suddenly carried off by a violent fever on May 4, 1799, at the age of 43." The second brother, Richard, went out in 1778 and became an indigo planter and died unmarried. He must not be confused with Richard Johnson the Bengal writer of 1770 who owned considerable house property in Calcutta and became Resident at Lucknow and Hyderabad. After his return to England in 1789 he became a banker and M.P. and mismanaged the money affairs of his firm and of Warren Hastings, and ultimately died at Brighton on August 15, 1807. His collection of Indian paintings was bought by the East India Company and is now at the India Office. A number have been framed and hung in the private room of the Secretary of State.

WHEN Samuel Johnson, one of the brothers of William Johnson, was acting as an usher at Mr. Hobden's Academy for Young Gentlemen at Hounslow, he wrote to his sister Elizabeth at Torrington on August 8, 1775: "In the house where I now am, I hear a good deal about Bengal. Here is a young Gentleman about 19, that has a Father and Mother but a few miles from Calcutta. His Father is a Factor, which every one looks on as a very prodigious thing; Writers are made Factors when they have been five years in the Service. He goes to his Father next Christmas. Here are also two more who go to Bengal at the same time. One of them is an intimate acquaintance of Mr. Chambers. Mr. Chambers, he says, would have taken him with him if he had not been engaged to as many as he could take." The names are revealed in a letter written to Richard Johnson on September 20: "Robarts goes as Midshipman to China; His Family is very intimate with Mr. Chambers to whom he carries Parcels and Letters, which he forwards to Calcutta from Madrass. He goes at the beginning of next month. Wilkinson and Van der Heyden go soon after, one to Calcutta, the other to

Balasore, which is very near, so that they will both see Billy [William Johnson] if they live. By one of these I shall send a letter."

These were the days of patronage; and it cannot be denied that Chambers looked exceedingly well after his friends and relations. William Smoult came out, like William Johnson, on the *Anson*, and Chambers obtained the office of Sealer for him. The Judges seem to have liked this, for they informed the Governor General in Council on November 20, 1774, that "we have brought with us from England a number of persons of character and education whom we have appointed clerks and ministerial officers of the Court."

TO the late Sir Richard Temple is due the credit of discovering the Will of Job Charnock's father, "Richard Charnocke" of the parish of St. Mary Woolchurch, London, which is dated April 2, 1663, and which was proved on June 2, 1665. By it he bequeathed £600 to his son Job and "The Bell" a tenement in Market Street, Bedford, to another son, Stephen. By his own Will which is dated January 9, 1693, and was proved on June 12, 1695, Job Charnock provides for a legacy to the poor of "Cree Church London."

AS recorded in an interesting article in the *Sunday Statesman* of January 27 last, a curious mistake made by the War Office five years ago has just been rectified by the grant to the 18th Heavy Battery, "Eyre's Battery," Royal Artillery, one of the old Bengal Artillery units, of the sub-title "Eyre's." In 1929 this title was granted in error to the 19th Heavy Battery, which had no claim whatever to it and had no connexion with Sir Vincent Eyre, the distinguished Bengal artilleryman whose name is thus commemorated. Eyre's battery—No. 3 field battery, manned by No. 1 Company of the 5th Battalion of the Bengal Artillery—much distinguished itself in August 1857 in the relief of the "House of Arrah", and its achievement is now perpetuated.

BENJAMIN TURNER, with whom William Hickey entered into partnership in 1789 (? 1787), as we learn from vol. iii. p. 344 of his *Memoirs*, had not at that time been admitted as an attorney. He had hitherto been managing clerk to George Wroughton the Company's attorney. Hickey says (iv. 372) that Turner had built himself a house in the town of Doncaster (1809); and elsewhere (iv. 311) he mentions that in 1805 he wound up his affairs as he was returning with his numerous family to Europe. But it is evident that he found his way back to Calcutta. When he died in Calcutta on July 14, 1819, he was, as the inscription on his grave in the South Park Street cemetery testifies, "the oldest British resident in Calcutta." He acted as under-sheriff to E. C. Macnaghten in 1817. His

son and partner, Benjamin Turner, junior, married at Calcutta on February 28, 1820, Mary, daughter of W. N. W. Hewett, a retired Bengal civilian, of Weston Green, Surrey ; and died on April 12, 1821, at the age of twenty-five. Another son, George Wroughton Turner, who was born in Calcutta on May 14, 1801, died there on May 24, 1807 ; so that Turner must have postponed his departure until then, and Hickey says (iv. 341) that when the partnership was dissolved, Gour Dey, their joint banian, left him to follow Turner : the date of this passage seems to be 1806.

WILLIAM JACKSON, who died in Calcutta on August 24, 1807, at the age of 58, was Company's attorney for many years : he was also registrar from February 7, 1777, until his death. He married Margaret Stewart on November 7, 1776. Three of his sons were in the Bengal Army : Capt.-Lieut. William Hill Jackson (1785-1813), who died at Cawnpore "of a violent fever" ; Lieut. Thomas Charles Jackson (1786-1815), killed in Macassar during an attack on a fortified village ; and Major James Nesbitt Jackson, C. B. (1788-1832), D. Q. M. G. Bengal, who died in Calcutta.

The deaths of two other attorneys named William Jackson are recorded in the "Bengal Obituary" (pp. 123, 174). Possibly the one who died on Nov. 15, 1838, aged 36 years, was a grandson of the Company's attorney.

AMONG a number of sketches by James Wales, which belonged to the late Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, C. S. I., is one of "Mr. Seton in Moorman's Dress", whose long beard gives him an uncanny resemblance to the portrait by Thomas Hickey of the Abbe Dubois which hangs in the rooms of the Madras Literary Society. There can be little doubt that it represents Archibald Seton of Touch in Stirlingshire, hereditary standard-bearer to the Kings of Scotland and Resident at Delhi from 1806 to 1811. Of this Mr. Seton we obtain some strange glimpses in the "Reminiscences of Delhi Twenty-five Years Ago" by "Captain Diddler Wayward of the Hon'ble Company's Pension Establishment" which were published in the *Bengal Sporting Magazine* in July 1834. ("Diddler Wayward" was a pseudonym, and the writer is identified with some probability by Major V. C. P. Hodson as Captain John Henry Warner (1783-1861), who was pensioned in India on Sept. 1, 1815, and died at Rajshahi on 27 July 1861, aged 77. His former regiment, the 1/6th Bengal N. I., was at Delhi in 1808/9, and Warner then had nine years' service). Seton, we are told,

"in his nominal office of Minister, served the shadowy King of Delhi with all the apparent devotion of a real courtier. He stood shoeless and bootless with joined hands in the royal presence ; and when His Majesty went to the Grand Mosque, the Cootub, or to fly hawks at partridges, the Resident mounted behind him in the seat called

Kawas, flourished the chowry over and around the imperial head of Akbar the Second, not for idle show merely but too veritably to whisk away flies. He used to get out of his palankeen if one of the family passed him on the road, and what he did he expected others to do. Some of Seton's orders about paying respect to the King and Princes made him very unpopular among the young officers. He once intimated his wishes, but not authoritatively, to the commandant that all European gentlemen should on meeting the King dismount from their horses and stand till he passed. Nothing can exceed the shouts of derision with which the proposal was treated, but not to incur his resentment, I believe most people afterwards scampered off the road when they saw the royal processions approaching."

Seton was a Bengal writer of the year 1778, and was Resident at Delhi from 1806 to 1811, succeeding Ochterlony and followed by Metcalfe.

MENTION is made by William Hickey, in the first volume of his Memoirs (p. 283) of "Mr. Henry Ramus, an old acquaintance of mine" who "went out as a Writer [to Bengal] the same season" as Robert Pott [1772-1773]; and he adds that "his eldest brother George and I were contemporaries at Westminster and great cronies". George and Henry Ramus were brothers of Benedetta Ramus, a reigning beauty, who married Sir John Day, the first Advocate-General of Bengal; and their father, Nicholas Ramus, was head page to the King. Henry married as his second wife, on November 6, 1779, Johanna Vernet, the daughter of George Louis Vernet, the Dutch Governor of Chinsurah, whose hatchment is preserved in the Old Church at that place. George Ramus married no less a person than "the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of George III," if we are to accept an entry in vol. V of Howard and Crisp's "Visitation of England and Wales" (1879), to which Major Hodson has drawn attention. Their grand-daughter Marian Martha Money, whose parents were James Money of the Bengal Civil Service and Eliza Louisa Ramus, was married at Murshidabad in 1828 to George Wynyard Battye (1805-1888), B.C.S., who subsequently took the additional surname of Cumming; and by this marriage was the mother of the famous Quintin Henry Battye of the Guides and of his sister the wife of Colonel G.B. Malleison.

LOUISA RAMUS, one of the daughters of Henry Ramus, married George Ravenscroft, who was Collector of Cawnpore from 1813 to 1816 and again from 1818 to 1820. He fled into Oudh when it was discovered that large sums of money were missing from the Treasury, and took refuge with the Raja of Bhinga, who gave him land to cultivate and a house. When he began to plant indigo, the Raja's eldest son became alarmed and hired some dacoits to kill him. He was wounded and died the next day, May 7, 1823. Platt, an ensign, who was

staying with him, managed to save Mrs. Ravenscroft and a child, and brought them into Lucknow. A monument to Ravenscroft was erected by the Raja of Bhinga and may be seen at Bhabarpur in the Bahraich district.

THE fame of Chinnery and Daniell and Hodges has obscured the name of Miss Katharine Read, who came to India in 1775, at the age of fifty-two, with her niece Helena Beatson, to stay with her brother William Read of the Company's Civil Service at Madras. In the course of an article on "Anglo-Indian Miniaturists," which appeared in the *Asiatic Review* for 1892, Mr. A. Francis Steuart has something to say about her ; but he gives no authority for his statements, and in certain particulars they appear to be inaccurate. He describes her as "the Court paintress of the late Queen Caroline," the wife of George the Second, and antedates her arrival in India by five years, adding that "she sent home a portrait of 'The Indian Lady' to her relations in Scotland." Her residence in India did not extend beyond a year. Owing to a breakdown in health she was obliged to take a voyage to the Cape and she died at sea on December 15, 1778. Helena Beatson, her niece, married in October 1777 Charles Oakeley, a Madras writer of 1767 who was created a baronet in 1790 and was Governor of Fort St. George from 1790 to 1792 and again (upon the retirement of General Medows) from 1792 to 1794. She died in 1839. Mr. Dodwell in his *Nabobs of Madras* quotes from one of the letters of David Young, a contemporary retailer of local gossip, a passage in which he says that Miss Read "has been very ill-treated by Miss Beatson since her marriage and the old lady has taken it so much to heart that it has been in a great measure the cause of her complaint." According to Mr. Steuart, Miss Read painted originally in oil, but afterwards her chief medium was pastel. "Her paintings are fine and her portraits, somewhat in the manner of Reynolds, pleasing." None of those painted in India seem to have survived.

MR. STEUART also quotes, apparently from a letter, a reference by Miss Read to two fellow-artists in 1777, both in Calcutta, one Kettle, "a tolerable painter," and Paston, "an indifferent hand." It is a pity that he is not more precise. Tilly Kettle had already left Calcutta in the *Talbot* (Captain Raymond Snow) on April 8, 1776, and arrived in the Downs on November 4. By "Paston" Mr. Steuart must mean John Paxton, who died at Bombay in 1780. He was one of the original members of the Incorporated Society of Artists and signed their declaration roll in 1776. We have no record of his ever having been in Calcutta ; but we believe that Mr. Dodwell has discovered that he received permission to reside in Madras. We get a glimpse of him in the Farington Diary in an entry of October 8, 1806 : "Sir William Paxton, now member for Carmarthenshire, made a fortune in the East Indies. He is brother to Mr. Paxton, Wine Merchant of Buckingham Street York

Buildings etc., and of the late Mr. Paxton, Portrait Painter, who died in India." William Paxton, who had been in the Company's service in Bengal, was also a member of the Calcutta firm known in 1785 by the name of Paxton, Cockerell and Delisle and later on as Cockerell Trail Palmer & Co. At the time Farington made his entry, he was "partner with Cockerell etc., at a Banking House in Pall Mall."

AN interesting account of the famous banking house of Coutts & Co. has been written by Mr. Ralph M. Robinson and published by John Murray.

The "Thomas Coutts"
East Indiaman.

On page 51 a reference will be found to the connexion of Thomas Coutts, the founder of the firm, with the East India Company. His partner Edward Marjoribanks was a brother of Campbell Marjoribanks, who exchanged the command of an Indiaman for a seat at the Board of Directors, which he filled for 33 years (1807-1840), serving as Deputy Chairman in 1818, 1824 and 1832, and as Chairman in 1819, 1825 and 1833. Coutts himself had £1,000 worth of Stock and took a sixteenth share in many of the Company's ships, paying his share of the expenses and receiving his proportion of the profits of the voyage. In 1816 a full-rigged ship of 1365 tons register was built at Deptford and named the *Thomas Coutts*. The ownership was divided into 64 shares of which Campbell Marjoribanks held 24, Coutts 4, and his partners eight between them. The ship made eight voyages to the East between 1817 and 1833, six of them under the same captain Alexander Chrystie, and all but one were to China. In 1826-27 a record passage of eleven months was made out and home, and the event was commemorated by the publication of a print of which a copy hangs in the Bank premises. W. J. Huggins' picture of the ship at anchor in Singapore was purchased in 1915 for the Victoria Memorial Hall. Her figurehead was the Coutts crest, heraldically described as "a demi-Moor shooting an arrow from a bow all proper." Although Coutts was never a Director and was unable to see any advantage in England's connexion with India, he enjoyed exercising patronage and obtained writerships and cadetships for many of his protégés.

DR. FIRMINER, in an article in the *Statesman* of June 22, 1917, recalled the interesting associations of a bygone Calcutta house. To the west

The Ambassador's
House.

of the old Play House and fronting Lal Bazar stood in the year 1784 the Old Collector's Cutchery (in 1753 there had been a cutchery on the opposite side of the road). In evidence before the Select Committee in 1782 it had been described as "an old ruin of a house, formerly the residence of" an Indian, and then the gaol. This was the building which in 1712 had been utilised by the Council for the reception of the Persian Ambassador who was on his way to the Mogu Court. The Council wished him to represent their grievances as well as the affairs of his own country, and therefore were at some pains to make his stay

in Calcutta pleasant. Governor Russell went out to Govindpur to meet him, and he stayed eight months in Calcutta at the Company's expense. When he left in April, 1713, he asked to be provided with "one piece of black cloth, 15 yards of fine lace, three fine hats, one black and the other two white, and a black periwig", and in return for these promised to do his best for the English at the Court of the Mogul. The house in which he had resided became known as the "Ambassador's House," and Dr. C. R. Wilson, in his "Old Fort William", says that it stood at the corner of Lal Bazar and Mission Row," which Mr. S. C. Hill elaborated and corrected by placing it on the south side of Lal Bazar just before the Bentinck Street crossing. Following on the Royal Charter of 1727 bestowing a court of a mayor and aldermen on Calcutta, the Council resolved:—

"there being wanting a proper place to hold the Mayor's Court, as well as a Court of Oyer and Terminer, and to make a Town Gaol: Agreed that the Ambassador's House and Compound be appropriated for the service, and that a tax be levied on the inhabitant of this place to pay the same."

In their general letter of February 2, 1729, to the Court, the Council described the Ambassador's House as the Company's House, and stated that it stood on the Company's books at a value of Rs. 6,480. There were objections to the tax to raise the purchase money of the house and no assessment appears to have been made. In 1732 the Council reported that they "have sold the House commonly called the Embassadour's for 3,560 rupees, reserving out of it a large piece of ground with brick buildings for a Town Goal."

THERE are indications that even now persons are to be found who advance the theory that the Black Hole tragedy never occurred. We had thought that Lord Curzon's masterly paper which appeared in this journal in 1917 (vol. XV pp. 11-24), had disposed of this curious contention once and for all. Since this was written, too, fresh evidence is forthcoming from William Hickey's sketches of Calcutta streets in 1789, which show that Holwell's monument existed in his day and that it bore an inscription. Is it credible that for years this monument should have been allowed to stand in public commemoration of an event which never took place? The theory that the tragedy was a concoction of Holwell's and of others his "accomplices" requires us to believe (i) that all the accounts of the monument given by travellers were false, (ii) that three maps of Calcutta marked a monument that did not exist, (iii) that the Daniells prominently figured that monument in two published prints, in furtherance of the common object of the "conspirators," and (iv) that when the editor of a Calcutta paper referred to the just completed removal of the monument, no reader wrote to point out that the monument had never existed, but on the other hand one instead protested against its

removal. We recommend re-reading of Lord Curzon's article to those who do not have it fresh in their memory.

THE monument was certainly standing in 1801. We quote the following entry from the *East India Chronologist* which was published in that year :

1756 June the 20th. Seventy one days after the death of his grandfather, Surajah Dowla captured Calcutta and confined in the Black Hole 146 of the English Company's servants: 123 were found dead the following morning: among the survivors was Mr. Holwell who erected the monument now (1801) standing in front of the old Fort in commemoration of the melancholy fate of his more unhappy fellow sufferers.

A PRESS cutting from an Indian paper of 1917, which we are unfortunately unable to identify further though it was probably the *Statesman* or *Englishman*, records the death at Satara on June 12 in that year of a Mrs. M. T. O'Kearney at the age of eighty-five. It goes on to relate that she

was by birth an Afghan and a cousin of the Amir An Afghan Refugee. Dost Mohamed, and had married according to Muslim rites in 1849 at the mouth of the Khyber Pass, Major Maughan of the Bombay Army. When the British forces withdrew she was left with her own people. Her husband then became military secretary to Charles Napier at Karachi, and she "left her home accompanied only by a muleteer and a boy slave. She crossed the Salt Range and by unfrequented tracks reached the Indus near Multan and then after a long and arduous journey down that river rejoined her husband at Karachi. They were then married again according to the rites of the Church of England." During the Mutiny she is said to have been with her husband at Kolhapur where he was Political Agent. After 11 years of married life, when she was about 27 years of age, Major Maughan died and she married again. Her story presents some resemblances to that of Ensign Warburton and others who took to themselves Afghan ladies as wives during the First Afghan War ten years previously.

IT used to be said in Calcutta that "every other man you meet has married, and every other woman has been, a Miss Pattie." James Pattie, B.C.S.,

The Seven Beautiful
Misses Pattie.

married Adeline de l'Etang at Murshidabad or February 18, 1811. They had seven beautiful daughters; Adeline, who married Colonel Colir Mackenzie (1806-1881), known as the "Moolah" from his religious disposition; Julia Margaret, who married in 1838 Charles Hay Cameron (1795-1880) Macaulay's successor as Law Member of Council; Maria (Mia) who married in 1837 John Jackson of the Bengal Medical Service; Sara, who married H. T. Prinsep, B.C.S.; Sophie, who married J. W. Dalrymple, B.C.S.; Louisa, who

married H. V. Bayley, B.C.S., Judge of the High Court from 1862 to 1873 ; and Virginia, who married Earl Somers and died as recently as 1910 at the age of 84. For an account of the Chevalier de l'Etang, their remarkable grandfather, see *Bengal: Past & Present*, vol. xxix, p. 231 ; vol. xxxiv, p. 136.

MISS EVELYN OULESS and her sisters, who are the owners of the sketches of Calcutta streets and houses by William Hickey which are described elsewhere in this number by Mr. Ottewill, Hickey's Sketches of Calcutta. have been good enough to permit them to be photographed for exhibition at the Victoria Memorial Hall. The gift will be much appreciated. The value of these sketches of Calcutta in 1789 is great from a topographical point of view, as each sketch is accompanied by detailed notes in the writing of Hickey. Both sketches and notes will be photographed.

FROM these sketches several discoveries can be made. The location of Grand's "red house in town" is at last satisfactorily determined. It was in Old Court House Street. The houses in Calcutta Residents in 1789. Chowringhee which are seen in Daniell's view of that thoroughfare are seen to have been occupied by Colonel Murray and Colonel John Mordaunt who is immortalised in Zoffany's "Cock Match." Hickey himself lived at one time in close to the house overlooking St. John's Churchyard which was for many years occupied by the *Englishman* newspaper.

ONE of the most dignified of Calcutta's statues is the fine bronze equestrian effigy of Lord Mayo which stands at the junction of the road across the Maidan with the long avenue leading from Corporation Calcutta Statues. Street to Kidderpore ; but few are able to give off-hand the name of the sculptor. It is the work of Thomas Thorneycroft and was unveiled on December 31, 1875, by King Edward VII, then Prince of Wales. An account of the ceremony will be found in the *Friend of India* for January 7, 1876. A later and less successful memorial is the statue of Lord Ripon by F. Derwent Wood, A.R.A., which is placed on the Red Road. It was unveiled in 1915.

WE are glad to be able to announce that as the result of a generous donation from a distinguished member of the Society, it has become possible to arrange for the issue of a third volume of the Index to *Bengal: Past & Present*, covering volumes XIX to XXVIII.

TWO outstanding events in the history of the Calcutta Historical Society will take place this year. With the July-September number of *Bengal: Past & Present* we shall begin our fiftieth volume, and the October-December issue will be our hundredth number.

Calcutta Historical Society.

REPORT FOR 1934

The Annual Meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society which completed the 27th year of its existence was held on Thursday the 25th April, 1935, in the Society's Office at 3, Government Place, West. Mr. Harry Hobbs, one of the oldest members of the Society, presided.

Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, F.R.S.L., M.A., Honorary Secretary of the Society, read the report for the year 1934 which runs as follows :—

It is pleasing to note that the Calcutta Historical Society has now stepped into the 28th year of its existence. The Committee of the Society are greatly indebted to Sir Evan Cotton, C.I.E., for his untiring zeal and warm devotion to the Society and its journal. Ever since his retirement from India in 1925 Sir Evan Cotton has all along been helping the Society's journal *Bengal Past & Present* with regular and interesting contributions without which it would have been extremely difficult for us to maintain the high standard of this journal. I have, however, to announce with great regret that, that eminent research scholar and historian who has been the backbone of this Society has been ill since last Christmas. On the 20th of December last he had a slight stroke of paralysis and thus temporarily lost the use of his left arm which is gradually regaining its natural strength. The progress is very slow and it is certain that for some months to come it will not be possible for him to resume his usual activities or contribute to *Bengal : Past & Present*, more specially his Editorial notes which enrich each issue of the journal.

During the year under review the total number of members of the Society was 143 against 145 of the previous year. Although there are three additions in the list of members the decrease in the total is due to the resignation of some of the ordinary members and the death of the two gentlemen named below.

We deeply regret to announce the death of two of our valued members during the year under review, Sir Charu Chandra Ghose, Kt., and Kumar Monmotha Nath Mitter Bahadur. Sir Charu Chunder Ghose the eldest son of the late Rai Bahadur Debendra Chunder Ghose was born in 1874. After completing his school career in the South Suburban School, Bhowanipore, he received his higher education in the Presidency College, Calcutta, from where he graduated in 1898. He was enrolled as a Vakil of the High Court, Calcutta, after completing his articleship under the late Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, and his extraordinary talents did not take him long to build up a vast practice. He passed with great distinction his Bar final from Lincoln's Inn and obtained a special prize of £50. He joined the Calcutta High Court in 1907

as an advocate. In July 1919 on the retirement of Mr. Justice Chitty, Sir Charu Chandra was elevated to the Bench of the Calcutta High Court, and he officiated as Chief Justice of Bengal on four occasions. In recognition of his services the distinction of Knighthood was conferred on him in 1926. He was twice elected President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and was connected with several educational, charitable and philanthropic institutions of Bengal. Just after his retirement from the Bench of the Calcutta High Court in 1934 he was appointed a member of the Bengal Executive Council in place of Sir Provash Mitter. He was one of the oldest members of the Calcutta Historical Society where his brother Mr. D. C. Ghose, the President of the Improvement Trust Tribunal, is now the Honary Treasurer. His demise is not only a great loss to Calcutta but more so to the Calcutta Historical Society.

Kumar Monmotha Nath Mitter Bahadur who was the grandson of Raja Digambar Mitter of Shampukur died on Sunday, the 16th September, 1934, at his Shampukur residence at the age of 67. In addition to his many public activities he was Sheriff of Calcutta in 1924 and a member of the Bengal Legislative Council in 1929. He was also one of the oldest and most enthusiastic members of the Calcutta Historical Society. His death is a great loss to us.

FINANCE.

The credit balance at the Bank up to the 31st December 1934, as will appear from the Financial Statement drawn up and submitted by Messrs Lovelock & Lewes, the Honorary Auditors of the Society, amounts to Rs. 2,536-4-9 out of which Rs. 169-6-2 is in the current account, Rs. 1,200/- Fixed Deposit (General Fund), and Rs. 1,166-14-7. in the Index Fund. The Fixed Deposit of Rs. 1,200/- has been renewed for a further period of twelve months. It is pleasing to announce here that Mon. Hori Har Sett, Chevalier de la Legion de Honneur, French Chandernagore, was kind enough to make a donation of Rs. 1,000/- towards the Index Fund of the Society. The Committee gratefully acknowledge his generous contribution.

The Committee are thankful to the gentlemen who have helped the journal with their valuable literary contributions. Among these mention may be made of Sir Evan Cotton, C.I.E., Major H. Bullock, F.R. Hist. S., Mr. Alexander Cassells, I.C.S. (retd.), Rev. W. K. Firminger, D.D., Lt.-Col. D. G. Crawford, I.M.S. (retd.), Sir Richard Burn, Major V. C. P. Hodson, Mr. R. Sethi, M.A., F.R.H.S., Mr. D. N. Bannerjee, M.A., Mr. K. K. Dutt, M.A., P.R.S., Dr. Nanda Lal Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D., Mr. C. W. Gurner, I.C.S., Mr. J. G. Brooker, Mr. D. C. Bhattacharjee, M.A., Mr. J. M. Dutt, M.Sc., B.L., and Mr. B. K. Bose.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI

25th, April 1935.

Calcutta.

Raja Kshitindra Deb Rai Mahasai of Bansberia proposed the adoption of the Annual Report.

Mr. A. S. M. Latifur-Rahman seconded the motion which was carried unanimously.

Mr. D. C. Ghose, the Honorary Treasurer, read the audited Financial Statement of Receipts and Payments of the "General" and "Index" Funds for the year 1934.

Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali proposed the adoption of the Financial Statement, and Mr. R. Maulik seconded. The motion was carried unanimously.

On the proposal of Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali seconded by Mr. C. W. Gurner all the Office Bearers of the previous year were unanimously re-elected for the year 1935, and Major H. Bullock F. R. Hist. S., Mr. H. Hobbs and Mr. J. G. Brooker were elected as members of the Council and Executive Committee.

On the proposal of Mr. H. Hobbs it was resolved that in order to give an impetus to general historical study arrangements may be made to hold occasional short lectures on interesting historical subjects which should be broadcast for the benefit of the educated classes. It was further resolved that the members of the Calcutta Historical Society should revive their old practice of holding occasional short trips and excursions to places of antiquarian interest.

At the close of the meeting Raja Kshitindra Deb Rai Mahasai of Bansberia read a short but interesting paper on the "Royal Silver Jubilee" and on its historical aspect.

With a vote of thanks to the Chair and to the Office-Bearers, the meeting terminated at 8 p.m.

CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

GENERAL FUND.

Statement of Receipts and Payments from 1st January to 31st December 1934.

RECEIPTS.	PAYMENTS.
<i>Balance at 1st January 1934.</i>	<i>Printing including Blocks and Reprints . . .</i> 1,680 8 3
With Mercantile Bank of India Ld	<i>Postage and Stationery .</i> 192 4 6
On Current Account 457 2 11	<i>Bank Charges</i> 11 14 0
„ Fixed Deposit . 1,200 0 0	<i>Balance at 31st December 1934</i>
<u>1,657 2 11</u>	With Mercantile Bank of India Ld.
<i>Subscriptions realised</i> 124 14 0	On Current Account 169 6 2
Arrears 280 0 0	„ Fixed Deposit . 1,200 0 0
Current year . . . 1,138 0 0	<u>1,369 6 2</u>
Advance for 1935 . . 20 0 0	
<u>1,438 0 0</u>	
<i>Sale of Society's Journal</i>	
<i>Reproduction Fee</i>	
Received from Secretary, India Monthly 5 0 0	
<i>Interest on Fixed Deposit</i> 29 0 0	
<u>Rs. 3,254 0 11</u>	<u>Rs. 3,254 0 11</u>

CALCUTTA,
29th January 1935.

Examined and found correct.
LOVELOCK & LEWES
Chartered Accountants.
Registered Accountants.

CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

INDEX FUND.

Statement of Receipts and Payments from 1st January to 31st December 1934.

RECEIPTS	PAYMENTS.
<i>Balance at 1st January 1934</i>	<i>Bank Charges</i> 5 1 0
With Mercantile Bank of India Ld.	<i>Balance at 1st December 1934.</i>
On Current Account 171 15 7	With Mercantile Bank of India Ld.
<i>Donation</i>	On Current Account 1,166 14 7
Received from M. Hori Har Sett 1,000 0 0	
<u>Rs. 1 171 15 7</u>	<u>Rs. 1,171 15 7</u>

CALCUTTA,
29th January 1935.

Examined and found correct.
LOVELOCK & LEWES
Chartered Accountants.
Registered Accountants.

The Battle of Tukaroi, 3rd March, 1575.

MOVEMENTS BEFORE THE BATTLE.

AFTER conquering Bihar in July-August, 1574, the Emperor Akbar detached an army into Bengal under Khan-i-Khanan Munim Khan, with Rajah Todar Mal and many other officers, in pursuit of Daud the Afghan king who had fled away from Patna just before that fort fell to the Emperor's arms. One division of this army, led by Majnun Khan Qaqshal, defeated and slew Sulaiman Mankali, the Afghan jagirdar of Ghoraghat (Dinajpur-Bogra districts) and drove the broken remnant of his followers into Kuch Bihar. Another, under Muhammad Quli Barlas, captured Satgaon (Hughli). Thus, North Bengal and South Bengal were cleared of the Afghan power, and Daud was driven to seek refuge in the sub-province of Orissa, which, in the geography of the Mughal empire, began with the district of Midnapur (*minus* Ghatal and Chandrakona). His chief adviser Srihari (the father of Pratapaditya) fled to Jessore. Flying Mughal detachments were also sent to Bakla (Bakarganj), Sonargaon (Dacca), and Mahmudabad (Jessore-Faridpur) to establish imperial authority. Burdwan was made the advanced base of the invaders, but their supreme commander took post at Tanda, near the old city of Gaur in the Malda district.

Then the victors tired of their exertions and 'thought only of taking their ease in that country.' But Todar Mal came to them from head quarters, and urged them to follow up Daud into Orissa and end the war decisively. The army led by this Rajah advanced from Burdwan to garh-Mandaran, in the Arambagh sub-division of the Hughli district, midway between Goghat and Basudevpur, and some eight miles due west of Arambagh. Here spies brought the report that Daud had faced about at Debra-Kasari (not Kasiari, 22 miles south-west of Midnapur city). Todar Mal called up reinforcements from his chief, and on their arrival marched from Mandaran to Kalia (1). Daud then fell back on garh-Haripur, eleven miles south-east of the Dantan station on the B. N. Railway.

Meantime Daud's paternal uncle's son Junaid,—who had first joined the Mughals and followed them to Agra and Gujrat, had deserted from the last-named province and returned by way of the Jharkhand jungles to near Kasiari, wishing to unite forces with Daud. But the two cousins were too haughty to

(1) The hideously misprinted *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* (Newal Kishore Press lithographed Persian text) gives the name as *Goaliar*,—clearly a mistake for *Kolia*. There is a place spelt as *Calliah* in Rennell, sheet 7, 23 miles n.e. of Midnapur, and almost midway between Mandaran and Midnapur city. Similarly, *Nanjura* has been misspelt as *Khaboru*, *Bachora* &c. in *Tabaqat* and *Al Badayuni*, and *Debra-Kasari* as *Din Kasari*, *Rin Kasari* &c.

co-operate, and Junaid now took to plundering on his own account in that broken tract. An imperial detachment sent against him under Abul Qasim Namakin, was surprised and routed by Junaid, owing to this general's carelessness. Todar Mal then advanced in person against Junaid, who fled away without standing a battle. The Rajah halted with his army at Midnapur. Here Muhammad Quli Barlas died, the Mughal troops were disheartened, disorder broke out among them as they objected to continuing this jungle campaign. So, Todar Mal beat a retreat to Mandaran, where another of his leading officers, Qiyā Khan Kank (or Lang?), the leader of the malcontents, went off with a part of the army for returning to the imperial capital. The Rajah ran after him and by conciliatory speeches and a large money gift induced him to come back. Meantime, the Khan-i-Khanan, on being informed of the detachment's retreat to Mandaran and the dissensions in the camp there, had pushed up reinforcements from Burdwan.

Todar Mal was now in a position to resume the offensive. From Mandaran the entire army advanced to Cheto, where the Khan-i-Khanan himself joined it. It was now learnt that Daud had fortified his camp at Haripur by digging a deep trench around it and throwing up breastworks, in Afghan fashion. He had also barricaded the regular road from Midnapur southwards at strategic points, and as this road ran through a jungle the advancing Mughal army could be easily ambushed anywhere. The imperial soldiery were disheartened and refused to fight, clamouring for peace with the enemy. Todar Mal and the Khan-i-Khanan harangued and argued with them and cajoled them into a fighting mood. It was dangerous to go straight forward upon Daud's position, and therefore the Mughal chiefs, helped by men with knowledge of the locality, discovered an obscure circuitous path. This route was improved by pioneers, and then the army, making a wide detour by their left, i.e., south-eastwards, arrived at Nanjura, a village close to the Contai-Midnapur road and 11 miles east of Dantan railway station.

Thus Daud's flank was turned and his rear could be cut by one day's march. He had already sent off his family and *impedimenta* to Katak and lightened his force. He now advanced from his camp to challenge the enemy at their halting place. The encounter took place on the plain of Tukaroi, nine miles south-east of Dantan and three miles west of Nanjura,—i.e., ten miles south of the angle formed by the B. N. railway line and the branch road to Contai.

THE BATTLE DESCRIBED.

The course of the battle can be clearly followed from the Persian histories. The Mughal chiefs had decided not to fight that day, as the stars were inauspicious. They had merely sent out the usual vedettes in front of their camp, when they were surprised to see the enemy rapidly advancing in full force. Munim Khan hurriedly ordered his troops to be drawn up in battle array. He followed the customary formation: the Vanguard (under Alam Khan), the Advanced Reserve or *Iltimsh* (under Qiya Khan), the Centre (under Munim Khan), the Left Wing (under Ashraf Khan and Todar Mal), and the

Right Wing (under Shāham Khan.) But before the imperial army had completed the marshalling of its ranks, Daud precipitated the battle with a furious charge of elephants in a long line under Gujar Khan, upon the Mughal Vanguard. "As the tusks and necks of the elephants were covered with black yak-tails and the skins of the animals, they produced horror and dismay ; the horses of the imperial van were frightened on seeing these extraordinary forms, and hearing the terrible cries, and turned back. Though the riders exerted themselves, they were not successful and the troops lost their formation." (*Aḳbarnamah*, iii. 176.) Khan Alam was slain and his division was scattered. The impetus of the victorious Afghan van similarly broke the imperial *iltimsh* and even swept away the Centre itself. Munim Khan and other officers fought desperately, receiving repeated wounds, but their followers "did not behave well." At last, the tide of fugitives swept away the commander-in-chief five miles behind the front. The Afghans of the vanguard, after pursuing him for half a mile, turned aside to plunder his camp ; they even went beyond it and dispersed in the attempt to overtake the Mughal camp-followers who were trying to escape with their pack animals.

This ruined the Afghan cause. Daud durst not follow up Gujar Khan's successful charge by pushing into the opening made by him in the Mughal centre and taking the imperial left wing in flank, as he feared that the retreat of the Khan-i-Khanan was merely a ruse for luring him into the jaws of death between his enemies' two wings. The Afghan right wing under Sikandar merely made a half-hearted frontal demonstration against the Mughal left wing, but "fled without coming to blows", because here Todar Mal and other officers held their ground firmly and presented a bold front. When Daud himself arrived in support of his Right wing he could do no better. Meantime the severely shaken Mughal divisions had been rallied ; everywhere brave men had formed themselves into small knots and facing round were attacking the Afghans with arrows from horseback in Turk fashion. One of these missiles killed Gujar Khan, and thereafter the Afghan vanguard melted away in a minute. Munim Khan himself returned to the field and completed the rally of his side.

At the other extremity, the Afghan left wing had attacked and somewhat shaken the imperial right division ; Shāham Khan, the commander of the latter, himself "lost firmness on hearing of the boldness of Gujar and of the confusion of the imperial [central] army, and was turning back." [*Aḳbarnamah*, iii. 178.] But he was heartened by his braver subordinates, and this wing turned and fought the Afghans boldly. "In a short space of time the enemy [in front of them] was driven off and the victors proceeded against the (Afghan) centre." Threatened in front and left, with his vanguard dispersed beyond recall or sight, Daud could not maintain the contest long ; his ruin was completed when news came of the fall of Gujar Khan and the flight of his division. The entire Afghan army now broke and fled in hopeless rout. The Mughals gave chase, slaying and plundering without opposition. "The plain became a tulip-garden from the blood of the slain."

Next day, the Mughal generalissimo, then in his 82nd year and suffering from senile decay (according to Abul Fazl), vented his wrath by killing all the

prisoners taken and making "eight sky-high minarets with their brainless heads,"—in humble imitation of his master's progenitor Timur, who had "built his ghastly tower of eighty thousand human skulls."

The battle was a decisive victory for the Mughals, though so many of their higher officers were slain and wounded. Daud Khan fled to Katak, unable to make a stand anywhere before the pursuing column under Rajah Todar Mal. On 12th April he came out of that fort and made a complete submission to the Khan-i-Khanan.

[Authorities: *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* Persian text (best for topography, but requires severe correction); *Akbarnamah* (best for the battle). But *Al Badayuni* and *Masir-i-Rahimi* have been rejected as merely copying the *Tabaqat* with all the copyists' errors.]

I do not know any reason for calling this battle as that of *Mughal-mari*. None of the contemporary historians gives it that name. Abul Fazl definitely calls the place *Tukaroi*. There is a village named Mughalmari, near the Grand Trunk Road, six miles north-west of Tarkura village and two miles north of Dantan, [*Midnapur District Gazetteer*]; and Rennell's *Bengal Atlas*, sheet 7 gives another Mughalmari, eleven miles due south of Burdwan. Neither of them was the site of this battle. Nor was it another Tukaroi, which the *Balasore District Gazetteer* places on the north bank of the Subarna-rekha river, six miles westward from Jaleswar towards the river. In badly written Persian mss, *ré* and *wa* are most often confounded together; thus *Tukrai* and *Turkai* would be written alike.

I read the name of Todar Mal's first halting place as given in the *Tabaqat* as *Debra-Kasari* or *Debra-Kasai*. *Debra* is situated 15 miles east of Midnapur city, and *Kasia* four miles west of Debra. Between these two villages the north-south road crosses the east-west one. The more famous town of *Kasiari*, 22 miles south-west of Midnapur city, cannot be the place meant, as Todar Mal passed through *D-K.* in his westward march on Midnapur.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

Some Soldiers of Fortune.

XVII. COLONEL LOUIS CLAUDE PAETHOD.

IN Sir E. A. H. Blunt's *Christian Tombs and Monuments in the United Provinces* (Allahabad, 1911), page 18 (item 52), he prints the epitaph, at Sardhana, of the above-named officer. It reads : "Sacred to the memory of Colonel Louis Claude Paethod, Commandant of Her Highness Begam Sombre's Brigade, who departed this life Wednesday, a.m., 13th January 1819, aged 78 years". To this the editor appends the note : "His widow was one of the Begam's pensioners. That is all that is known of him, besides what is given in the inscription".

In view of the obscurity into which this adventurer has fallen, I will give an outline of his career, derived save where otherwise stated from the papers printed for the appeal (1856) to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the case of *Dyce Sombre against Troup*.

Paethod entered the service of the Begum Sombre at the period when Monsieur Even was her commander-in-chief, that is to say in or before A.H. 1197 (A.D. 1783/4). His name occurs as sponsor at baptisms solemnised by Father Gregory, the discalced Carmelite of Agra, (1) at Delhi on 3 February 1784 ("Claudius Aloysius Pretodius"); at Delhi on 26 December, 1784 ("Claudius Putodius"); and at Panipat on 1 August, 1785 ("Claudius Aloysius Puto"). He was then a serjeant. In 1788/9 (A.H. 1204) he was drawing 150 rupees monthly, so was then presumably an officer. In 1795/6 (A.H. 1210) he was receiving Rs. 200 monthly; and in 1803/4 (A.H. 1218) he was a lieutenant-colonel with pay at Rs. 400, having previously (at a date not stated) been a major on Rs. 250 monthly.

When Colonel Jean Remy Saleur died on 12 July, 1812, Paethod succeeded him as commander-in-chief; but he himself died on 12 January, 1819 (15 Rabi I, A.H. 1234) according to D. O. Dyce Sombre's diary, or on 13 January according to the epitaph quoted above. George Alexander David Dyce was promoted colonel in his place from the day of Paethod's death. His widow was apparently living in 1849, as D. O. Dyce Sombre left her a pension of fifteen rupees in the (rejected) Will executed by him in that year.

(1) See *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, by Sir Edward Maclagan, London, 1932, p. 137.

XVIII. THE BEGAM SOMBRE'S COMMANDERS-IN-CHIEF.

The chronology of all matters connected with the military adventurers in Hindustan is peculiarly difficult to establish, or so I have found it ; and the following attempt to work out the succession of the Begam Sombre's commanders-in-chief is presented with a certain amount of reserve.

Major Lewis Ferdinand Smith, in his *Sketch of the Regular Corps formed and commanded by Europeans in the Service of the Native Princess of India* (Calcutta, n.d. : c. 1804) has the following passage :—

"The succession of European commanders to this party was Sombre, Pauly, Baours, Evens, Dudrenec, Le Vassont (sic) and Saleur. Sombre died in 1778. Pauly was murdered in 1783. Baours left the party, and was killed, with de Boigne, at Patun in 1790. Evens retired. Dudrenec resigned. Le Vassont shot himself, and Saleur is still with the party."

An even earlier reference is provided by a letter in the Pondicherry records, from Bussy to Marshal de Castries, dated 3 March 1784 (quoted by Mr. Brajendranath Banerji in his *Begam Samru* (Calcutta, 1925), p. 17, footnote) :—

"The troops of the widow of Sombre are in great misery. This woman... is at the head of her late husband's corps. Pauli, who used to command it, had awkwardly mixed in intrigues and as a result had been decapitated [by Md. Beg Hamadani in 1782]. Since then M. Marchand commands it."

To a certain extent, of course, the Begum was her own commander-in-chief ; but the following list gives the succession of her chief officers after Sombre's death on 4 May, 1778, so far as I have been able to establish it :—

1778 to 1782 or 1783	PAULI.(2)
1782 or 1783	MARCHAND.(3)
c. 1783	BAOURS.(4)
c. 1784	EVEN.(5)
c. 1785 to c. 1787	LOUIS LIEGOIS.(6)
c. 1787 to c. 1792.	GEORGE THOMAS.(7)
c. 1792 to 1795	NICHOLAS LE VASSOULT.(8)
[1795 to 1796]	Interregnum.(9)

(2) A German. The discrepant dates given for his death should be noticed. See also my article No. XIV in this series.

(3) Bussy's letter *supra* is the only authority for this man's existence. As *noms-de-guerre* were the rule with French adventurers, Marchand *may* be identical with Even or Liégois.

(4) His real name was Francois de la Roy : I am dealing with him in a book on the free-lances which I have under preparation.

(5) See article No. XVII in this series.

(6) Or Legois. This was definitely a *nom-de-guerre* : see article No. XIV in this series.

(7) See Banerji, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 38 & *passim*.

(8) See Banerji, *op. cit.*, ch. V *passim*; & Sir E. A. H. Blunt's work *supra*, p. 14, item 41. He died about May 1795.

(9) For the interregnum after the mutiny of the Begam's troops see Banerji, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-2.

1796 to 1812	JEAN REMY SALEUR.(10)
1812 to 1819	LOUIS CLAUDE PAETHOD.(11)
1819 to 1828	GEORGE ALEXANDER DAVID DYCE.(12)
1828 to 1836	ANTONIO GIUSEPPE REGHELINI.(13)

If L. F. Smith is correct, the name of Dudrenec(14) requires to be inserted in this list, somewhere about 1785; and in any event the succession during the period 1782-1787 is not free from doubt.

XIX LE CHEVALIER CLAUDE CHARLES DUDRENEC D'INFREVILLE.

The military career of the Chevalier Dudrenec is dealt with at some length in the existing literature of the military adventurers in India : in the present article I propose to set forth some details of his personal history and of that of his family, in the same way as I have done in previous papers in this series.

I will first deal with his children. Monsieur A. Lehuraux kindly informs me that the following passage occurs in a footnote supplied by M. Emile Gaudart to his edition of Malleson's *Final French Struggles in India* :—

"Dudrenec lived some years [after the defeat of the Marathas in 1803] at Hooghly near Chandernagore. He had had issue by a Muhammadan lady four children, viz., one son and three daughters. He had them baptized at Agra and recognised them. His eldest daughter Joanna, born in May 1786, married General Jean Henri Piron at Chandernagore in 1804. (The marriage contract in the Pondicherry archives is dated 6 July, 1804). Another daughter, Dominique, born in 1786, married at Chandernagore Henri Jules Bouau... their marriage contract is also at Pondicherry, it is dated 30 December, 1809. The third daughter had married an adventurer named Plumet. The son was named Patrick..."

It will be noted that the two eldest daughters are both stated to have been born in 1786, and of the same mother : in the case of one of them, Joanna, the month is given, viz., May ; but they are not stated to have been twins. It is not impossible that there is some error as to the date of the birth of one or the other ; and Joanna, the eldest, may be the child who is referred to in the following extract from a transcript of the register of baptisms performed by Father Gregory, the discalced Carmelite :—

Delhi, 22 June 1783. Illegitimate daughter of Charles ANDERNAICQUI, *eques*. Sponsors : Daniel Dujerdi and Mariana

(10) d. 12 July 1812 (Blunt, *op. cit.*, p. 15, item 43).

(11) d. 12 or 13 January 1819 (see article No. XVII in this series).

(12) Suspended 22 July 1827 : struck off 14 July 1828 (appeal papers in *Dyce Sombre against Troup*).

(13) On the Begam's death, 27 January 1836, her principality ceased to exist ; her territories reverted to the East India Company ; and her army was disbanded.

(14) See article No. XIX in this series.

Moniwel, for whom stood proxies John James Robert, a Frenchman, and Marianna his wife.

Dudernaicque was a variant spelling of Dudrenec, who is also definitely identified as the father of this child by the title *eques*, chevalier. "Daniel Dujerdi" is another corruption : this was Lionel Du Jarday, the French agent at the Mogul Court. Mariana Moniwel was probably the wife of Captain Manuel Deremao, of whom I have written in the *Journal* of the Punjab Historical Society, vol. I, part II, pp. 155-171 (December 1932). Robert was one of the earlier adventurers, having been a member of René Madec's party in 1775 (*Le Nabab René Madec*, par Emile Barbe, Paris, 1894, p. 243).

The alternatives to the supposition that Joanna was baptized in 1783 at Delhi, instead of being born in 1786 and baptized at Agra, are either (a) that she was a twin with Dominique, or (b) that Dudrenec had children other than those recorded by M. Gaudart. Her husband, Piron, has formed the subject of more than one note in *Bengal: Past & Present* in recent years ; and needs no further mention here.

I am indebted to M. Lehuraux for the following copy of the *acte de décès* of Joanna. From its wording it follows that she must have remarried after Piron's death in 1807; but it is extremely curious that the document should not give the name of her second husband. *Native de l'Indoustan* shown her to have been of mixed blood; and this entry is our sole authority for styling Dudrenec "d'Infreville":—

"1814. Mémoire de l'enterrement de Dame Jeanne Dudrenec-d'Infreville.

Le vingt-un Juin mil huit cent quatorze je soussigné Prêtre Curé de la Paroisse de St Louis de Chandernagor certifie avoir assisté a l'Inhumation faite dans l'Eglise de Bandel dudu Corps de Dame Jeanne Dudrenec d'Infreville, veuve en premier nêce de feu Monsieur Henry Piron, agée d'environ vingt huit ans, Native de l'Indoustan et habitante cette colonie j'ai fait cet acte servir en cas de Besoin.

Signé f. Pierre Benoit Curé."

* * * * *

Dudrenec's second daughter, whom M. Gaudart calls Dominique, appears to have been named, instead or additionally, Victoire. M. Lehuraux has furnished me with details of the baptism of three of her children :—

- (i) Cecil Marie Sophie Bouau, born 4 December, 1810, baptized 21 January 1813 at Plumet's indigo factory at Rishra near Serampur.
- (ii) Lucie Marie Joseph Bouau, born 18 July 1813, baptized 29 December 1817 at the same place.

(iii) Henry Bouau, born 23 October 1815 at Bapur, district Murshidabad, and baptized on the same occasion as ii.

Their father, Henri Jules Bouau, so M. Gaudart informs us, was a former officer of the mercantile marine, born at St. Palant, Cotes du Nord : he was probably an indigo planter at this period.

The third daughter, whose name was Félicité Dudrenec, married Major Joseph Marie Plumet, formerly an officer in Scindia's service. He is mentioned by Compton (p. 380) and is said to have been a native of the Ile de France and eventually to have returned there. In the *Calcutta Directory*, 1833, we find Joseph Plument (sic) shown as an indigo planter at Jessore : this was doubtless either the Major or a son of his.

Dudrenec's son, Patrick, is mentioned in the following entry in the Chandernagore archives, for which also I am indebted to M. Lehuraux :—

"1817. Baptême de Elisa Henrietta Dudrenec. Le vingt neuf Decembre mil huit cent dix sept je soussigné Prêtre desservant par commission du R.P. Curé de la Paroisse de St Louis de Chandernagore ai baptisé dans la maison de Mr. Plumet situé à Icherah près de Serampoor un enfant né (sic) a Kidnidhur (sic) District de Moorshedabad le 13 Fevrier 1815 fille naturelle de Mr. Patrick Dudrenec et de la nommée Anna ; ont été parrain Mr. Henry Bouau, et Maraine Madame Félicie Plumet Dudrenec, qui l'ont nommée Eliza Henriette et ont signé avec moi ainsi que le Père de l'enfant présent et autres.

E. GALLAIS,
Mis. Ap."

There can be little doubt that William Patrick Dudrence, who died in the Agra Fort on 10 May 1858, aged 32 years and 4 months (Sir E. A. H. Blunt's *Christian Tombs and Monuments in the United Provinces*, Allahabad, 1911, p. 65, item 245) was another child of Patrick's. I am told that there were representatives of the family in Calcutta a few years ago.

I will close with two notes on the Chevalier himself, both kindly provided by M. Lehuraux. The first is from the entry in the Chandernagore records of the baptism, on 22 February 1807, of Charles Alexandre, born at Agra on 7 November 1805, natural child of "le Sieur Pierre Francois Choblet et d'une Indu (sic)"; whose godparents were "Sieur Claude Charles Dudrenec Général dan l'Armée de Maratte (sic)" and Dame Félicité Dudrenec Plumet. The Chevalier signs the register in a fine clear hand. We may identify the father with a Lieut. A. Shoblet, formerly of Scindia's service, who in 1816 was receiving a pension from the British (*The Original Calcutta Annual Directory and Bengal Register for Anno Domini 1816* compiled by D. Gardener, late an Assistant in the Military Department of Govt., Calcutta, printed by P. Ferris, Morning Post Press).

Finally, I give the record of the Chevalier's burial :—

“Décès Charles Dutrenec (sic), 1810. Le cinq 7bre 1810 je soussigné Curé certifie avoir enterré dans son jardin (sic) après avoir faite les cérémonies funeraillles (sic) dans la Paroisse de Chandernagor Mons. C. Charles Dutrenec (sic) ici-devant (sic) Colonel au Service de Scyndia agé de environ 55 ans natif de Brest décédé le trois a Calcutta et transporté ici. Ont assisté a son enterrement les ici dessous signés

signé : P. Benoit, Cure.

signé : J. C. Audebert-Chanbon

signé : Dudrenec Fils

signé : Michel

signé : J. B. Fortier”

(There was an adventurer named Fortier, mentioned at p. 50 of the memoirs of Louis Bourquien, printed in the *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, 1923).

XX. THE “FRENCH TOMBS” AT POONA*

Though they are little known even to old residents of the Peshwa's former capital, Poona possesses three isolated groups of Christian graves of great historical interest. All of them date from what may be called the pre-British era, and it is almost certain that each of these burial-grounds contains the bodies of European military adventurers; yet hardly any information regarding them seems to be on record. Even that vast and usually accurate compilation, the *Bombay Gazetteer*, has little to tell us of the story of these lonely tombs—and of that little, not all is correct.

In 1928, and again in 1931, I spent many hours in inspecting these tombs and in attempting to trace their story. I will now give some account of my investigations and their results.

I will deal first with the group of graves on the Shankarseth Road, which is marked on more than one map of Poona by the name “French Tombs.” How long it has been known under this name I have not been able to ascertain. It consists of three tombs of the local dark grey freestone, which in the rainy season looks almost black. One grave is surmounted by a tall obelisk; another by a large square slab; and the third by a high oblong of stone. The *Bombay Gazetteer*, which was compiled in the early eighties of the last century, states that no inscription was then legible on any of the tombs, except the single word “memor”; and in 1928 I was unable to find any traces of an epitaph. The top of the oblong tomb is deeply pitted, apparently by the drip of water from the trees near by and by some violence which has been done to it. When I visited the spot during the height of the rainy season of 1931, and carefully examined this tomb once again, I noticed a seeming irregularity in the indentations on

* Adapted by permission from an article published in the *Statesman*.

the flat top of the tomb. Rain water had collected in these indentations, and after clearing a little debris out of them, I discovered that in certain lights and from certain angles it was apparent that the indentations were the remains of an inscription, which had been largely destroyed by weather and probably by some vandal of the past. In the course of several visits paid during varying conditions of light, I was able to decipher the following:—

.....THE MEMORY
CAPT FRANCIS.....
DEPARTED THIS.....
POO[NA].....
IN THE SERVICE.....
IP (?).....
.....FINGLASS REGT

I am satisfied that the above version is substantially accurate, though "IP" and "FRANCIS" are not at all clear. The most legible words are "FINGLASS REGT".

This gave me more than one clue. The epitaph was in English and thus very probably commemorated an Englishman. The rank of captain and the name Francis—probably a Christian name and not a surname, from its position—were hopeful clues; but in point of fact they proved rather disappointing. Most definite of all was the mention of the Finglass Regiment, which as I happened to know was a corps in the service of the Nizam of Hyderabad, raised about 1798 by an Irish soldier, Colonel Michael Finglass (*recte* Finglas), formerly a quarter-master of the 19th Light Dragoons.

Whose grave was this likely to be? The reference to the Finglass Regiment suggested that it was not a regular soldier who lay here, and I thought of the Battle of Poona, fought on 25 October 1802, for I knew that British military adventurers had taken part in that engagement and had been killed. The contending parties were, on the one side, Jaswant Rao Holkar; and on the other, the allies Baji Rao Peshwa and Daulat Rao Scindia. The force of the lastmentioned came down from Ujjain to the Deccan, and while it was on its way the Peshwa's troops, its allies, suffered a severe reverse at the hands of Holkar on 7 October. Then the latter's army encamped, on 23 October, between Loni and Hadapsar, about five miles east of the city of Poona, and on the road to Dhond. Both sides had European military officers in their employ. Holkar had five regular battalions under Major Harding, five more under Major Vickers, and four under Major Armstrong. Scindia had four battalions under Captain Dawes, whose subordinate officers were Captain Catts, Ensign Douglas, and a Frenchman named Hanove. The Peshwa had no Europeans.

The exact site of the battle is not easy to fix; but it took place on the plain to the south-east of Poona. From some personal acquaintance with the ground I conclude that it took place somewhere between the site of the

present Connaught Military Hospital and Parbhathi Hill, and very probably just south of the Shankarseth Road. For the story of the battle Grant Duff and the usual authorities may be consulted : so far as the "French Tombs" are concerned, it is sufficient to state that Holkar's army was completely victorious. Major Harding was however killed by one of the last shots of the battle. Of Scindia's four European officers, Dawes, Catts and Douglas were killed, and Hanove was taken prisoner.

By a fortunate chance we know where Harding's body lies. His dying request was that he should be buried by the side of his countrymen in the cemetery of the old British Residency, and there he was laid to rest by Barry Close, the Resident. The old graveyard is still to be seen, beyond the Sangam; but all the epitaphs save one (to the memory of a woman) are now missing: they were probably destroyed when a Maratha horde overran and looted the Residency in 1817. Where were the other three officers, those in Scindia's service, buried?

I now return to the clues afforded by the fragmentary inscription which I have set out above. The Christian name unfortunately does not help us, for the Christian names of any of the three officers in question do not appear to be known. But both Douglas and Harding had served the Nizam in the Finglass Regiment, before they entered the services of Scindia and Holkar respectively. In that corps Douglas had held the rank of Captain (*The Nizam*, by H. G. Briggs, London, 1861, vol. II, p. 95), though he was only an ensign in Scindia's service at the time of his death. We know that the grave at the "French Tombs" cannot be that of Harding, who sleeps at the Sangam, three or four miles away. I conclude therefore that this is Douglas's grave. His description as a Captain in his epitaph is natural enough, since that was the rank he had previously held.

Whose are the other two tombs? It seems reasonable to suppose that they are those of Catts and Dawes, the others of the three British subjects who fought and died together. But since the monuments are now totally devoid of inscription, strict proof is lacking. Not long ago I thought I had a clue. It has proved inconclusive, but it is undoubtedly interesting. A correspondent received and sent to me an account of the battle of Poona furnished by an old Hakim of Ujjain, apparently drawn from traditional sources and handed down in his family. It contains discrepancies, as is only to be expected; but he names Harding, Dawes and Catts as having been killed—their names though corrupted are recognisable. He goes on to say that a "Mr. Henry" was killed and his grave is in existence; and that another British officer was killed. "Colonel Baldwin Hecly [this I think can only be Colonel Barry Close] had his body brought to Scindia's camp and with all rites had it buried where he was slain. A black stone pillar marks his grave : the pillar is inscribed:—

R.D.F.

24 - 10 - 1802

2 p.m.

Promising as this looks, it does not take us much further. The European soldiers of fortune were often known to their men by *noms-de-guerre* or by their Christian names; but we do not know the Christian name of any of the officers killed on this occasion, and so cannot identify "Mr. Henry". Nor were the initials of any of them "R.D.F." (It is tempting to suppose that this should be "Fr. D." for Francis Douglas; but the surmise cannot at present be justified). Here the inscription has obviously been incorrectly handed down, as the date "24-10-1802", instead of "25-10-1802", also goes to show. But two facts, less likely to have suffered such an accidental change, remain. Firstly, the grave is said to have been surmounted by a "black stone pillar"; and one of the graves is surmounted by such a pillar. Secondly, the officer is said to have been buried where he fell; and so far as I can judge, the "French Tombs" at Shankarseth are on the site of the battlefield. In this I am corroborated by the Indian Christian caretaker who lives some twenty yards away, in a hut which he was allowed to erect not many years ago. He has told me how, when digging the foundations of his hut, he found many human bones. There are other unmarked graves all around, he says. Indeed, he showed me some mounds, half-concealed in undergrowth, which bore every appearance of being such. Finally he emphasised that the site was that of a battlefield, though as far as I was able to ascertain he had never heard of the fight in 1802.

One thing remains to be said of the isolated little graveyard beside the Shankarseth Road. Adjoining the three grey stone graves is another Christian tomb. In appearance it is quite different from them, being plastered and whitewashed and surmounted by a cross, with recesses for *chiraghs*. On All Saints Day each year the caretaker renovates the plaster, and every Sunday throughout the year relights the lamps at sunset. This, he tells me, is the grave of Colonel Francisco Caetano Pinto, the Portuguese officer in the Peshwa's service who led a brigade against the British at the battle of Kirkee in 1817. This adventurer is to-day entirely forgotten save by the Goanese community at Poona. He seems to have entered the Maratha service about 1792, and tradition has it that when in that year the Peshwa engaged a number of Christian musicians from Goa, it was Pinto who petitioned the ruler to grant a plot of land on which they might build a chapel wherein to worship. The Peshwa acceded to this request, and in the following year, 1793, the chapel was duly built. The original structure no longer exists having been demolished and replaced by a larger building many years ago; but its successor, the Church of the Immaculate Conception (commonly known as the City Chapel) and the Roman Catholic burial-ground near by, as well as various church houses and schools, still occupy the land granted in 1792, and perpetuate the generosity of the Peshwa to his Christian soldiers. Nothing seems to be known of Pinto after the British victory in 1817; but the caretaker of the "French Tombs" has no doubt that the white tomb is his, stating that he was so informed many years ago by a Christian woman of great age who had herself known the Portuguese colonel.

The second group of pre-British tombs at Poona lies just to the east of the British infantry barracks at Ghorpuri, and is marked on some maps as the "French Cemetery". Ten of the graves have tombstones, some massive and lofty and some distinguished by sculpture beyond the ordinary monumental quality; but only two inscriptions remain. One is modern ; "French Cemetery. Madame Dufreneque officers and others buried here up to A.D. 1817. Put in order A.D. 1876". This was evidently erected in 1876, after the restoration of the burial-ground by the authorities. Madame "Dufreneque" has been identified as the wife of the Chevalier Charles Dudrenec, one of the most prominent of the French military adventurers, who served both Scindia and Holkar in his time and must often have come to Poona. He was there, for instance, in February 1803 or a little later. The only consort he is known to have had was a Muslim lady : see article no. XIX in this series.

Previous writers have stated that this is the only epitaph in the old Ghorpuri cemetery. In 1928 I paid two or three visits to it without finding any other ; but in 1931 I met with more success. On scrutinising the seemingly blank panel on the side of a finely-carved stone tomb, I remarked an apparently symmetrical grouping of some of the small pitted holes with which the tablet was covered. That much of the pitting was due to the effects of time and climate was clear ; but I had the feeling that the regular alignment of many of the holes was due to something more than chance. Looking at the tablet from every angle in turn I could still make nothing of the marks, but at last I hit on the solution. The tablet had been inserted *upside down* at the end of the tomb, perhaps during the restoration of 1876 ; and after some time spent in scanning it in its reversed position I was able to make out the following, which I give *verbatim et literatim* :

HRE LIETHN
THE INFANT SON
OF
CAPT JOHN JANES DUPON
NAMED JOHN DUPON
WHO DIED ON THE 1 OCTO
AGD ONE YEAR AND VII DAYS
ANNO DOMINI
1793

"Capt" and the last figure of the date are by no means clear ; and the whole inscription shows signs of having been recut by a workman ignorant of English, at some past date.

Captain John James Dupon, a native of Holland, was a well-known officer in Scindia's service, and led a brigade against Wellesley at Assaye. His command having been annihilated on that occasion, he surrendered to the British during the following month. History has no more to relate of him, but the fact that his little son lies at Ghorpuri proves the correctness of the tradition that connects this burial-ground with the foreign adventurers.

The third group of tombs lies at Sangam Santa Cruz, by a stream on the right-hand side of the road from the new Lloyd Bridge to Kirkee. Here are two uninscribed tombs, whitewashed and plastered and surmounted with crosses: they are sometimes known as the "Portuguese Tombs", and the name Santa Cruz would seem itself to derive from them. Tradition has it that here lie the bodies of two Portuguese officers who were killed in action against the British at the battle of Kirkee in 1817. It has been said, apparently without good authority, that one of them is the grave of Colonel Pinto himself; but this seems very unlikely, since he was not killed in the battle and (as has been shown) there is reason to believe that he is buried elsewhere. I have not found any mention of Portuguese in the Peshwa's service having been killed in 1817; but there is nothing improbable in such an occurrence, and the tradition may be correct enough.

H. BULLOCK.

The Indian Journal of William Daniell (1789).

THE VISIT TO AGRA AND MUTTRA AND MEETING
WITH MAHDAJI SINDIA.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The opening portion of the manuscript journal kept by William Daniell in India, was published in Volume XLVIII (pp. 81—91). Uncle and nephew (the latter a lad of nineteen) left Calcutta on September 3, 1788, in a pinnace budgerow, and on September 25 arrived at Berhampore (Murshidabad) where they stayed with Mr. Thomas Lyon, the architect, whose name survives in Lyons Range, Calcutta. On September 25 they resumed their leisurely voyage, and passing by Rajmahal on October 8, "Mooty Juna" on October 11 and 12, and Colgong on October 16, arrived at Bhagalpur on October 18. Here they halted for two days, and reached Monghyr on October 22. Leaving Monghyr on October 30, they anchored at Patna on November 7 and stayed there till November 12, Buxar was reached on November 21, and Ghazipore on November 24. At Ghazipore they halted until December 3 and arrived at Secrole by palanquin on the same day. Returning to the pinnace they came in sight of Allahabad on December 16, and brought to at Cawnpore on December 28. From Cawnpore a dak was laid to Fatehgarh and they arrived there in their palanquins on January 1, 1789. On January 13 they started from Fatehgarh with a party which was intending to visit Agra and Delhi.

From a letter preserved among the Humphry MSS. in the Royal Academy Library, and written to Ozias Humphry by Capt. Jonathan Wood from Futty Ghur on August 1, 1789 (1) we learn that the party consisted of Colonel (afterwards General) Horton Brisco who had been aide de camp to Warren Hastings and was commanding at Fatehgarh (2); General John Carnac, Clive's second-in-command at Plassey, who had remained in India after his removal from the Bombay Council in 1780, and who had come to Bengal by sea in December 1786 to say goodbye to Sir John Macpherson (3):

(1) The letter was printed in Vol. XXXV of *Bengal: Past and Present* (pp. 120-124). Lieut. Colonel Jonathan Wood, of the 2nd B. N. I., died at Fort William on December 29, 1802.

(2) Brisco died at Calcutta on December 25, 1802 at the age of 61.

(3) Camac returned to Bombay and died at Mangalore on November 29, 1800, at the age of 84.

all the way by the river to where you were
the River. I accompanied him to his Bungalow in the
Camp. when we spent the night at an hour - it returned at 9 o'clock
- - - but I remember a man, Major Palmer, who was on his left
- - - and I remember Smith accompanied him - but I do not remember on his right
- - - I remember that Mr. Dyer was on an Elephant with Mr. Dyer. I remember that
Mr. Adams was on an Elephant with Mr. Dyer. I remember that
Elephant - - - but I do not remember the name of the Elephant
in this Palangur - - - I remember that I was on an Elephant with
us. another man - - - with me of his riding men - - - he dis-
mounted the elephant & received us as if we were old friends
- - - when I remember that I was in the Palangur & he showed me
on the Elephant - - - I remember that at his Bungalow we
were conducted by his servants to the Room where I remember
was seated - when he walked in & sat round me but
(as is customary - among the great men of the Country)
He - - - I remember that I was with him - - - I remember that he
showed me very much & on our return made a sketch of his
House - - - In the evening he invited me to a reception
- - - at the entrance of Sindia's Camp there was a man lay-
ing dead on the Road - on enquiry found that it was an old

The Visit To Sindia, February 1, 1789.

A page from William Daniell's Journal.
(Photographed by Major T. Sutton)

John Melville of the Civil Service, paymaster of the troops at Cawnpore and Fatehgarh ; Major Lewis Lucius Smith, commandant of the 14th Battalion of Sepoys and his sons (Lewis Ferdinand Smith, afterwards "Major in Dowlut Rao Scindia's Service," who died at Calcutta in 1820, and Emilius Felix Smith, who was also in Scindia's service and who died at Jhajjar on October 5, 1801, as recorded in his brother's book, from the effects of a wound received at the battle of Georgegarh): Captain Lamington Baillie of the 1st Cavalry, who was lost at sea in the *Skelton Castle* in December 1806: Lieut. Ewan Bushby (who died at Calcutta in 1793): Lieut. John Clerkson (who died at Cawnpore in 1801): Capt. Wood himself: and the two Daniells. They were escorted by two companies of sepoy and a small body of horse.

The following extracts are taken from the day to day journal which was kept by William Daniell.

THE JOURNAL.

January 13, 1789.—Left Futty Ghur at sun rise and came to the ground where the Tents were pitched (at Mahommedabad) abt. $\frac{1}{2}$ af [ter] 8: distant from Futty Ghur by the Perambulator (4) 14 Miles. We came on two of the Col [onel's] Elephants, Un [cle] in the Umaree (5), myself in the Houda. The face of the country from Futty Ghur to Mahommedabad is flat but beautiful Groves of Trees are every [where] scattered about. After breakfast we walked to the fort of Mahommedabad built by Mahommed Khan grand father to the present Nawaub of Furruckabad (6) abt. 70 years ago. We made a few sketches of it. In the evening I made a general view of camp.

January 14.—Started abt. $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour before sun rise and came to our ground at: Beyur [Bewur] abt 9 o'clock—dist from Mahommedabad abt. 11 miles: the country flat and much broken ground. Crossed the Colleynuddy River [Kali nadi] abt. $\frac{1}{2}$ af [ter] 8. Employed most of my time in drawing from the elephants and camels. In the evening the party went out shooting. Genl. Carnac, Un [cle] and self went towards Beyur village from which I made a sketch of our camp. Ther. 88. Abt. Beyur there were formerly 60 Mud Forts, very few now remain.

(4) A machine consisting of a large wheel trundled by a handle with attached clockwork and dial for recording the revolutions and measuring the distances

(5) *Amari*, a canopied Litter. Yule and Burnell (*Hobson-Jobson*) give the variant *Ambaree*, quoting *inter alia* from J. B. Fraser's Memoir of Col. James Skinner (c. 1798: "The Rajah's Sowarree was very grand and superb: he had twenty elephants with richly embroidered *Ambarrehs*"). In Williamson's *Field Sports* the form used is *Umbarry*

(6) Daler Himmat Khan, Muzaffar-i-Jang, who succeeded his father Nawab Ahmad Khan as Nawab of Furruckabad in 1771 and died in 1796. His grandfather Mohamed Khan (1665—1743) was the son of Malik Ain Khan, a Bangash Afghan who came to India in the reign of Aurungzebe. He founded the towns of Kaimganj and Mohamedabad. The fort at the latter place, of which only the ruins now remain, is built on a mound called "Kal ka Khera," of which the highest point has been used as a point of the Trigonometrical Survey of India—*Fatehgarh and the Mutiny*, by Cozens and Wallace, p. 2.

January 15.—Began our march abt. $\frac{1}{2}$ af [ter] 5 and reached our ground at Manpurry [Mainpuri] abt. 10 o'clock: dist. from Beyur 18 Miles. Passed the Issah River abt. 9. Both of us employed in drawing abt. Manpurry fort all day: it affords many excellent views.

January 16.—Left Manpurry at $\frac{1}{2}$ af [ter] 6 and reached our ground at Kiroli at $\frac{1}{2}$ af [ter] 9: employed myself most of the Day in drawing from the camels and elephants. A great deal of salt on the ground from Manpurry to Kiroli: dist. abt. 17 miles.

January 17.—Started about 6 o'clock and came to our Ground at Shekoabad [Shikohabad] at 10 o'clock. Stopped some time on our March, there being much game for the shooting Gent [lemen]. Un [cle] and self busily employed all day at Shekoabad. Shekoabad was built abt. 145 years ago by Darashoko [Dara Shikoh] brother to Aurunzebe, sons of Sha Jehan who built the Taje Mahal. It is 13 Miles from Kiroli to Shekoabad.

January 18.—Began our march a little after 5 and came to our ground abt. 9 at Firozabad: dist. from Shekoabad $11\frac{3}{4}$ Miles. Our tents were pitched near a Mosque on the high road to Agra which I made a view of after breakfast (7). I also walked to the Fort before dinner. It had been besieged 3 times in the course of 11 Months by Golaum Khadir Khan, Ishmael Bey [Ismail Beg] and Himmat Bahadur. Firozabad affords many excellent views: the country between Shekoabad and Firozabad is pleasant and seems to be pretty well cultivated: the country on the first five days march has been exceedingly barren—seldom saw a bit of cultivated ground.

January 19.—Our march today was abt. 12 Miles, from Firozabad to Amedpour (8). Our tents were pitched close to a large tank in the middle of which was a tomb and a bridge leading to it, built abt. 150 years ago by Amed Khan; intended as a Mausoleum for himself, but fearing that nobody would drink of the water should he be buried there, he built another near the tank, in which he was interred. We made two or three correct drawings of them both (9). Country thro' which we have passed to-day has been very

(7) The mosque of white marble, founded by Khwaja Firoz a eunuch of the Court of Akbar, is to be seen in the right background of William Daniell's picture in the Soane Museum in Lincolns Inn Fields, "A Hirkarrah Camel: scene at Firozabad near Agra" It was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1832, and engraved by W. J. Cooke for the *Oriental Annual* (1834: p. 209).

(8) The Etmadpoor of Hodger who states that it is seven miles from Agra (see plate 37 of his *Select Views*, "Mausoleum at Etmadpoor"): shown as Ummaidpoor in Allan's map (1846). It is $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Tundla junction on the E. I. R. The name Etimadpur is derived from Etimad, or Muhammad, Khan, a eunuch at the Court of Akbar who was appointed by him to remodel his financial arrangements. He built here a mosque or mausoleum and a large masonry tank in the centre of which is a two storeyed building with a dome. The tomb stands close to the approach to the tank.

(9) Among the pictures included in the Daniells' Madras lottery (*Madras Courier*, December 27, 1792) were two oil-paintings: "Near Agra" (30 inches by 35) and "The Tomb of Omed Khan at Omedpore, near Agra, by moonlight" (23 inches by 18).

barren. Major Palmer (10), Mr. Stuart (11), Mr. Mcpherson (12), Phipps (13) and Cookson (14) came to Amadpore this morning on purpose to accompany Col. Brisco to Agra. The Taje Mahl is seen very distinctly from the Mosque that stands in the Tank, tho' 7 Koass [Kos] distant.

January 20.—Started abt. 6 o'clock and reached Agra by 9. The tents were pitched immediately opposite the Taje Mahl (15) Un [cle] and self drawing from it most of the day. In the evening went to see the Tomb of Etymaud Dowla, the father-in-law of Jehangir (16), built almost entirely of marble: it is very highly finished with a great deal of rich inlaid work: has been built—years [blank in MS]. The country from Amedpour to Agra is very much broken and quite impassable for any wheel carriage.

January 21.—Crossed the Jumna abt. 7 o'clock and breakfasted with Major Palmer in one of the Mosques in the Taje. After breakfast we all visited the inside of the Taje and were much struck with its Magnificent Workmanship (17). We also went up to the top of one of the Minarets, where you command a very fine view of the country. Mr. Stuart was kind enough to walk with us and show us a good view or two of the Taje which we sat down to. I spent the day at—(blank in journals). In the evening washing our sketches.

(10) Major (afterwards Lieut. General) William Palmer (1740-1816) was Resident at Scindia's court from 1787 to 1798: he had been aide-de-camp and military secretary to Warren Hastings.

(11) Lieut. William Stewart or Steuart (1763-1795) was serving with the escort to the Resident with Scindia from July 1787 until the middle of 1790: and was Assistant Resident at Hyderabad at the time of his death in 1795. He was an amateur artist (see entry of January 23).

(12) Lieut. James Macpherson, elder natural son of "Ossian" Macpherson, was appointed Assistant to the Resident with Scindia (James Anderson) in 1786: struck off in 1804.

(13) Lieut. Thomas Phipps—commanding Major Palmer's escort: resigned in 1791 and died at Aldeburgh in 1794: was aide-de-camp to Warren Hastings from 1782 to 1785.

(14) Cookson—Major Hodson who has kindly supplied the foregoing notes, is unable to identify this officer and there was no contemporary surgeon of the name.

(15) See the oil-painting by William Daniell, the gem of the Lyell Collection at the Victoria Memorial Hall—"The Taj Mahal viewed from the opposite side of the River Jumna," exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1829.

(16) Itmad-ud-Daula (Mirza Ghiyas Beg) was the father of the Empress Nur Jahan (wife of Jahangir) and grandfather of Mumtaz-i-Mahal (Arjanand Banu), the "Lady of the Taj," who was a daughter of Asaf Khan, Nur Jahan's brother. His tomb which was built by Nur Jahan, lies about 250 yards to the north from the east end of the railway bridge across the Jumna. The design is similar to that of the mausoleum of Jahangir which was erected by Nur Jahan at Shahdara, near Lahore.

(17) The Taj Mahal was commenced in the year 1630 A.D. by the Emperor Shah Jahan as a tomb for his favourite wife Mumtaz-i-Mahal ("The Elect of the Palace") who died in 1615 at Burhanpur in the Deccan. The white marble was brought from Rajputana, probably from the Mekrana quarries in the state of Jodhpur, which also supplied the material for the Victoria Memorial Hall at Calcutta. According to Tavernier, who saw the Taj begun and completed, the building occupied 20,000 men for 22 years. Estimates of the cost vary considerably. In the letter press to their two aquatints of the Taj (published in 1801) the Daniells say that "the whole was completed in 16 years, 4 months and 21 days at a cost of Rs. 9,815,426 annas 13 and pie 9." Another figure is named by William Daniell in his letter to his mother from Bhagalpur (July 30, 1790: see *Bengal: Past and Present*. Vol. XXV, p. 14): "The whole cost £750,000 and was begun and finished in 15 years." But the sum expended was probably higher. Shah Jahan is buried by the side of his wife.

January 22.—Spent the whole day at the Taje Mahal. Un [cle] drew the view from the garden in the camera (18),...myself employed on the inside. In the evening went up on the Dome. Both employed till 10 o'clock washing our Drawings. Eat of some Apples Pears and Grapes of Persia from Major Palmer's table.

January 23.—Visited the Fort with our party this morning: built by the Emperor Akbar: a deal of elegant work added to it by Shah Jehan who built the Taje (19). Returned to camp abt. 10 o'clock. Spent the rest of the Day at the Taje Mahal. Un [cle] drew the Gate in the camera (20). Saw Mr. Stuart's drawings today. In the fort were many curiosities, one of them was a cannon of an immense size (20A)—in length 14 feet, diameter 4 feet, the mouth 2 feet; also a very large slab of black marble, said to have been brought from — by — (blanks in journal). We intend visiting the fort tomorrow again.

January 24.—Set out very early this morning towards the fort, where we employed ourselves the whole day. Un [cle] drew in the camera a general view of the outside of the Fort and myself a view of the principal Gate in the inside (21). Found it a little difficult to gain admittance into

(18) One of the two aquatints of the Taj, published in 1801, is "a Garden View." These fine aquatints are uncommon: there is a set at the Viceroy's House at Delhi, but none at the Victoria Memorial Hall. The second aquatint closely resembles in composition the large picture of the Taj in the Lyell collection. In the accompanying booklet, it is stated that "the Taje Mehal, when these views were taken in the year 1789, was in very good repair, but in the year following the cullice which decorated the top of the principal dome was struck down by lightning and the dome at the same time received material injury." The camera is a machine which may still be found in use at certain English seaside resorts where it exhibits a living panorama. In the time of the Daniells it consisted of a box with an open side over which a curtain was hung. Opening into the box at the top is a small convex lens set in a bellows, as in an ordinary camera, for the purpose of focussing. Above the lens is a small adjustable mirror, usually set at an angle of 45 degrees. The object to be depicted is reflected in the mirror, and the image passes down through the lens and forms a picture on a sheet of white paper placed at the base of the box. The draughtsman, with his head under the curtain, can then readily trace on the paper the outlines of the picture reflected.

(19) Most of the buildings erected by Akbar (1565—1573 A.D.) in the Fort were pulled down by Shah Jahan who replaced them by constructions of his own. The most important existing relic of Akbar's time in the Fort is the so-called Jahangiri Mahal.

(20) Thomas Daniell exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1808 "The principal Gate leading to the Taje Mah'l." Plate 18 in the first series of *Oriental Scenery* has the same title. "This gate," says the letter press, "is of red stone and white marble elegantly ornamented." Notable omissions from *Oriental Scenery* are the Moti Masjid (pearl mosque) in the Fort, the tomb of Itimad-ud-daula, and the Taj itself.

(20A) "One of the guns [captured at Agra by Lake in 1803], known as the great gun of Agra was famous throughout the East. It weighed 30 tons, though it was popularly believed to be nearly twice that weight, and was constructed to throw an iron ball weighing 1,500 lb. General Lake desired to send this gun as a trophy to the Prince Regent, but when it was being shipped on a raft on the Jumna, the great gun slipped from its lashings and sank into the bed of the river, where it lay until the year 1836 when Lord William Bentinck had it burst with gunpowder and the fragments sold by auction."—Pearse, *Life of Lord Lake*, pp. 213-214. It is said that the Agra bankers offered a lakh of rupees to Lake for the gun.

(21) William Daniell exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1799 "A view of the Fort at Agra taken from the ruins of the Palace of Islaum Khan Rumi," and in 1835 "The Citadel

the fort : was obliged to get a pass from the Killah Daur [killadar]. Compared Hodges' view of the fort with the original and which [sic] like all his others is exceedingly faulty (22). Washing our drawings in the evening.

THE TOMB OF AKBAR AT SECUNDRÄ.

January 25.—Left Agra abt. 6 o'clock and arrived at our Ground at Secundra (dist. from Agra near 9 Miles) abt. 8 o'clock. Un [cle] employed the Whole Day drawing the Gate (in the camera) leading to the Tomb of Akbar (23): myself ditto at the tomb of Akbar. In the evening washing these. The Road from Agra to Secundra offers many fine Views; it is covered with buildings and Ruins the whole way. Near Secundra is the Remains of an equestrian statue—pretty well executed (24). The whole put one in mind of the Appian Way, on account of the numerous remains of considerable buildings.

January 26.—Left Secundra early and came to our Ground at Kerouly (dist. 12 Miles from Secundra) at 9 o'clock. past the village Brodera near which the famous Battle between Scindia and Ismael Beg was fought abt. 5 Months ago: the latter was taken prisoner (25). Country thro' which we have passed to day has been in general well cultivated. Made a few sketches abt. Kerouly. There is a House built by Jehangire (and a garden in ruins) which I made a Mem [orandum] of. In the evening washing some of my Drawings.

of Agra which, according to the autobiographical memoirs of the Emperor Jehanguier, cost in building £26,550,000: taken from the ruined palace of Islaum Khan Rumi, the Chief Engineer of the Emperor Humaioon." A pen and ink drawing by William Daniell, in the possession of Sir Evan Cotton, represents a corner of the Fort overlooking the Taj which is seen in the background on the right.

The site of the palace of Islam Khan Rumi is now occupied by the MacDonnell Park which lies between the Taj and the Fort. The building stood on the river side, midway between the two. The title of Islam Khan was conferred upon Hussain Pasha, a Rumi or Ottoman Turk, who had been *beglarbegi* of Basra and took refuge in India in 1669; he was subsequently governor of Malwa and was killed in battle in the Deccan in 1676. He had no connexion with Humayun.

(22) Plate 17 of Hodges' *Select Views in India*.

(23) Plate 9 in the first series of *Oriental Scenery*: "The Gate leading to the Mausoleum of the Emperor Akbar at Secundra near Agra." This is a most interesting plate. Daniell has introduced in the foreground a view of the camp, with tents and groups of Europeans. Akbar died in October 1605, and the mausoleum was erected by his son Jahangir at a cost of 15 lakhs of rupees. The tomb was plundered by turbulent Jat villagers in 1691 and according to Manucci, who was living at Fort Saint George at the time, the bones of the Emperor were taken out of the vaulted chamber, and burned.

(24) About four miles from Agra, a sculptured horse is still to be seen. It is supposed to represent a favourite horse of Akbar which died near the spot.

(25) The "battle of Agra," fought on June 18, 1788. Ismail Beg, who was defeated, was not taken prisoner but escaped from the field and swimming the Jumna, joined the camp of Gholam Kadir. The occupation of Delhi and the blinding of the Emperor Shah Alam by Gholam Kadir followed.

FUTTYPORE SICRI

January 27.—Marched abt. 8 Miles—from Kerouly to Futtypore Secri. Futtypore Secri was built by Akbar chiefly as a residence for his Woman (26) when necessity (27) obliged him to be absent from his capital (Delhi). It is situated on a hill and commands a very extensive and delightful view. The tomb of Selim Shishti, a principal Dervis of Akbar (and who had the care of his Woman) was also built by Akbar. It is one of the most magnificent I have anywhere seen in the country: the Gate leading to it is also Grand and has a very picturesque appearance in many points of view (28). Indeed, the whole Building together has an appearance of grandeur much superior to anything we have seen in India, the Tago not excepted. There is also a high Minaret standing where Akbar used to seat himself to see Elephants and other wild beasts fight: it is stuck round with Elephants' Teeth (29). The Architecture and carving abt. the Buildings is also far superior to any we have seen in the country. Both of us employed the whole Day drawing. Un [cle] took a view from the outside of the Gate [Buland Darwaza], myself an internal view of the Building (30). Our tents were pitched within the walls (which are strong and high) that surround the palace.

January 28.—Set out very early and spent the Whole Day among the Ruins of the Palace of Akbar. We could spend a week or two very well among the Ruins, as they afforded many most picturesque Scenes. In the evening washing our Sketches. A number of Peacocks inhabit the Place.

January 29.—Left Futtypore Secri early and arrived at Otmere (dist. from Futtypore Secri 10 miles). Crossed a Plain this morning where there had been a battle fought by Golaum Khadir and Ismael Beg against Scindia—when the latter was worsted abt. 6 months ago (31). Employed myself most of the day drawing camels and elephants. Walked with Mr. Stewart

(26) Mariam Zamani. Jahangir was born here in 1570.

(27) Akbar resided at Agra during the early years of his reign. His capital was at Fatehpur Sikri from about 1570 to 1585. After a period at Lahore, he returned to Agra in 1599 and died there in 1605. Delhi was not favoured by Akbar and Jehangir, and the modern town of Shahjanabad, as its name denotes, dates from 1638 when Shah Jahan commenced the building of the Fort.

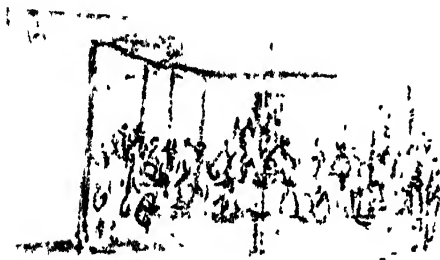
(28) A large oil-painting, signed and dated Thomas Daniell 1821, but not exhibited at the Royal Academy, was offered for sale at Christie's by the owner, Major F. T. Bridger, in April 1930, but was not sold. It represents the famous Buland Darwaza ("Lofty Gateway") or Gate of Victory, which forms the entrance to the Jama Masjid containing the tomb of Shaikh Salim Chishti. The same scene is reproduced in an engraving by R. Brandard from a sketch by William Daniell in the *Oriental Annual* for 1838 (frontispiece).

(29) *Oriental Annual* for 1838 (p. 110): "Minar at Futtypore Sicri": Engraved by J. Redaway from a sketch by W. Daniell. The Hiran Minar, a tall circular tower studded with elephant tusks carved in stone.

(30) An oil-painting which represents the interior of the Great Mosque hangs in the room of the Assistant Under Secretary at the India Office. It is attributed to William Daniell and may be the picture of "The Mosque of Futtypore Sicri near Agra, built by the Emperor Akbar." which he exhibited at the R. A. in 1833.

(31) The battle of April 24, 1788. "All parties admitted that, had [the two regular battalions of] De Boigne and Listonneaux [who was commanding the Jat infantry] been properly supported by the [Jat] cavalry, the issue of the day might have been very different": Grant Duff.

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VOL I



MAHDAJI SINDIA,
By Thomas Daniell R. A
(From an original pencil sketch in the possession of Sir Evan Cotton)

to a Hill and brought home a few Ducks. In the evening employed ourselves as yesterday. Futtypore was seen the whole march as it stands on one of the highest Hills, there are abt. 6 or 7 of them. Country thro' which we passed today has been well cultivated.

January 30.—Arrived at Ferra (abt. 10 Miles from Otmere) at 9 o'clock. and drew from the camels and elephants part of the morning, spent the rest of the Day washing some of my Drawings. Un [cle] washing some of his sketches also. Our camp was attacked twice last night by a number of Mewattys (32) but being fired upon by the Centerys [Sentries] they retreated without stealing anything. Ther: at 9 P.M. 64.

MEETING WITH MAHDAJI SCINDIA.

January 31.—Came to our Ground at Aurungabad abt. 9 o'clock. dist. 3 Miles South of Mutura: Mutura just discovered with the glass. I made a drawing or two of a garden house built by Aurunzebe on the side of the River Jumna. Dined at Major Palmers. Hear a great firing in Scindia's camp: understood that Scindia wanted to look at the guns he had taken from Golaum Khadur Khan from which he was saluted. The eveng. washing our sketches: ther. at 9 o'clock. A.M. 50: at 10 P.M. 63.

February 1.—Halted all the Day at Aurungabad. Between 12 and 1 o'clock. Scindia sent to Col. Brisco informing him that he was ready to receive a visit from Col. B. and his party (Scindia's camp dist. from ours abt. 1½ Miles). Left our camp abt. 10 o'clock. and was met abt. half way by Scindia to whom we were introduced by Major Palmer: accompanied him to his Bungalow in the camp where we spent abt. an hour, and returned abt. 3 o'clock. Our Souwarree (33) was Major Palmer who went on his elephant, Master Emelius Smith accompanied him: Col. Brisco on his elephant Mr. Melvil and Mr. Baillie on an Elephant, Mr. Mackrah (34) and Mr. Adams (35) on an Elephant and Mr. Brown (36). Capt. Wood Mr. Lewis Smith and Mr. Stewart went in their Palanquins. Scindia came on an Elephant to meet us, another accompanied him with one of his acting men: he dismounted his Elephant and received us one after one till we were all introduced, when Scindia went on in his Palanquins and we followed him on the Elephants etc. On our arrival at his Bungalow we were conducted by his Servants to the Room where

(32) Mewat is the name of a district S. W. of Delhi, notorious for the lawlessness of its inhabitants: a very ancient Hindu race, but the greater part forced proselytes to the faith of Islam. "The Mewaty of Ferozpur are notorious thieves and robbers" (Sleeman). The gangs have been broken up.

(33) Souwarree—*sawari*, cavalcade. "The Rajah of Benares came with a truly magnificent surwarree of elephants and camels" (Emily Eden "Up the country," 1837).

(34) John MacRa or MacRae: assistant surgeon, 1782: died at Barisal, October 8, 1823.

(35) Mr. Adams: either Richard Adams, Lieut. 14th batt. Sepoys 1787, died at sea on July 10, 1803: or, John Withington Adams, Lieut. 10th batt. sepoy 1787: afterwards Major-General and G. C. B. died at Subathu March 9, 1837, aged 73.

(36) George Sackville Browne: A. D. C. to Col. Brisco, afterwards Lieut.-General and K. C. B. died at Brussels on January 1, 1828. His daughter married Sir William Casement. Raised the 31st N. I. at Sasaram in 1798 (Broon-ka-pultan).

Scindia was seated when we walked in and sat round him but, as is customary among the great men of the Country, without slippers or shoes. Un [cle] and self studied his character pretty much and on our return made a sketch of his Head. In the evening Un [cle] painted him from recollection.(37)

At the entrance of Scindia's Camp a man lay dead on the road: upon enquiry found that it was one of a Gang of Muvattys that had attacked Scindia's camp a few days ago and was left there as an example to his brother thieves: many others were wounded. Ther. this monring 54 evening 64.

Marched as underneath.

5 Sootur Souwars (38) a company of Seapoys, Chubdars, Soontur Burdawrs and punes chokeydaws and Coltar Bearers, 5 Elephants 2 with omarees and 3 with Houdas, a company of Horse with drawn swords: and a mob of people behind and on each side of us.

Scindia advanced, with two Elephants, a few Horses before and behind, and a number of stragglers on foot: as he had lately disbanded his army he came in but little state.

AT MUTTRA.

February 2.—Marched this morning to within a mile of Mutura: encamped near a few Mosques on the High Road: passed the Tombs of a number of Mewatty thieves that were buried alive in the time of Nuguf Khan (Najaf Khan) in consequence of their cruelty to those who were robbed by them. After breakfast Mr. Stuart was so good as to shew us the town of Mutura. The two Capt. Smiths went with us. They returned to camp abt. 11 o'clock. Un [cle] and self spent the day at the fort where we made a view each and at a Mosque built by Aurangzeb on the site of a Hindoo Temple near 1000 years old (39): made a few other Sketches abt. Matura. At Bisram Gaut (the principal one at Mutura) sat a Boy (or Gosain) abt. 14 years old with his thighs and legs behind him and his feet appeared over his head: he came from Banares and was going to Hurdwar: on hearing of Col. Brisco's intention of going there he asked permission to accompany him which the Col. granted. Spent most of the evening at a Nautch in Col. Brisco's Tent.

(37) For Daniell's portraits of Sindia, see Appendix post.

(38) *Sootur Souwars*—camel riders; *Soorturburdaurs*, silver baton carriers: *chokey daurs* (chaukidars) watchmen: *punes*, peons: *collar bearers*, (kuttar) daggersmen: *umarees* (amari), canopied litters

(39) The reference is to the red sandstone mosque which was built by Aurungzebe on the ruins of the Kesava Deo Temple. It stands on a terrace 30 feet high and is used as an Idgah. The Kesava Deo Temple was seen shortly before its destruction by Bernier, Tavernier and Manucci. The mosque is the subject of a picture by Thomas Daniell at Petworth in the collection of Lord Leconfield. It is probably the "Temple at Matura, elephant, etc." which belonged to Countess de Grey and was sold at Christie's on July 3, 1833. The Jami Masjid, built by Abd-un-Nabi, a Governor under Aurungzebe, is in the centre of the town on an isolated site. The "Jumma Masjed at Murata" (sic) by Thomas Daniell was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1807: and "William Daniell's Mosque at Muttra, built in the reign of Aurungzebe" at the R. A. in 1834. The latter is reproduced in the *Oriental Annual* for 1835 (p. 118). See later entry.

February 3.—Went to Bisram's Gaut (40) and spent most of the morn'g. there: took the view from a boat which we moored (? moored) a few yards from the gaut: had a large Brickbat thrown at us by some ill-designing person; returned to camp abt. 12.

Scindia returned the visit to-day to Col. Brisco. Col. B. made him many presents: he came abt. 2 and stay'd till 4 o'clock. In the evening washing our Drawings: it was proposed to spend to-morrow at Bindrabund.

AT BRINDABAN.

February 4.—Set off early in our Palanquins for Bindrabund: on our arrival disappointed at finding no tent or breakfast (as had been proposed yesterday). It was deferred till to-morrow in consequence of Scindia sending an invitation to a hunt, but as we were not informed of it missed the opportunity of seeing it. Found many things at Brindabund worth drawing: particularly a curious pagoda built by (blank) abt. 250 Years ago now in pretty good order; made a view of it: and another or two on the River side (41); walked over the town and saw most of the buildings of any consequence that were to be seen. Were entertained by the Monkies at Bindrabund to whom we gave some khannah [food] which brought them in numbers: Returned to camp abt. 6. Un [cle] received by the Dauk a large parcel of letters this evening; one from Charles (42) informing us of the Boat's arrival at Cawnpore. Un [cle] answered some of the letters. I supped at Major Palmer's.

February 5.—Spent the Day with the party at Brindabund. We made three views of the Gaut and two of the Pagoda built by Rajah [blank in original]. Returned to camp on the Col.'s elephant abt. 5 o'clock. Brindabund distant from Mutura abt. 7 Miles. In the evening washing some of the sketches. Near the Eastern gate of Mutura is the grave stone of a Mussulman 9 yards in length who is said to have been buried between 8

(40) Thomas Daniell: Royal Academy 1804. "The Bramin's Gaut at Mutura: The Visrant Gaut on the banks of the Jumna where the Arati ceremony or worship of the sacred river takes place and cows, monkeys and turtles are fed".

(41) The picture by Thomas Daniell in the Diploma Gallery at Burlington House represents a "Hindoo Temple at Bindrabund on the Jumna." Probably the red sandstone temple of Gobind Deo (the divine cowherd Krishna) which dates from 1590 A.D. The river has now receded. There is an engraved plate representing two conical temples at Bindrabund in *Oriental Scenery*. Series 1, plate 2. The letter press affords no clue to identification beyond stating that "these edifices are built of stone in the style of ancient Hindoo architecture one is still in tolerable preservation . . . the basement story contains the idol Seva to whom this temple is dedicated." The temples are probably those of Madan Mohan and Gopi Nath which are both conical in shape and stand close to each other. The latter is in a ruinous condition. They stand on a ghat above the river Jumna.

(42) When the Daniells left their pinnace budgerow at Chunar on December 10, 1788 and proceeded in the smallest *patilla* (baggage boat) "in order to get up quick to Cawnpore" and thence by palankeen to Fatehgarh they left their English servant Charles Rose in charge of the budgerow. Charles Rose is entered in the East India Register for 1791 as "with Mr. Daniell, Calcutta" and as having arrived in Bengal in the *Tryall* in 1784. In the East India Register for 1798 his place of residence is given as Calcutta.

and 9 hundred years. He was nearly the length of the stone, according to the Report of the Country People.

February 6.—We proposed spending the day at Mutura but the morning turned out so very rainy that we were confined in our tent until near 12 o'clock, when I set off in my Palanquin and drew the Mosque at Mutura built by Abdulnubbi Khan abt. 250 Years ago in the reign of Aurunzebe (43). It rained almost all the time I was out, returned abt. 5 o'clock. In the evening Un [cle] received a large packet of Europe letters: from Mr. Hague (43A), Aunt Mary, Mr. Humphries (44) and Capt. Cooper (45). Ther. 55.

February 7.—The weather would not permit our stirring abroad to day: we therefore employed ourselves washing some drawings. Recd. 5 Dozen of Lead Pencils from Futti Ghur this evening. Ther. 55 this morning.

February 8.—Weather as yesterday; employed as yesterday. A storm of hail abt. 1 o'clock, hailstones very large. Ther. 61.

Feb. 9.—Were confined in our tents till 11 o'clock when the sky beginning to clear we set off from Mutura: crossed the Jumna and made two drawings: returned to camp abt. 5 o'clock. In the evening washing our drawings. Intend marching to-morrow. Ther. 60. Mutura is one of the oldest cities in Hindoostan: at present in the possession of the Jauts.

APPENDIX.

PORTRAITS OF MAHDABI SINDIA.

Of the two portraits of Mahdaji Sindia which we reproduce, the first is taken from an original pencil drawing in the possession of Sir Evan Cotton. This formed part of the collection of sketches by Daniell which belonged to Sir Henry Russell the second baronet of Swallowfield Park. It was obviously made in February 1, 1789, for an examination of the drawing discloses at the top of the paper a thumbnail sketch of the reception with notes of the principal persons present: "Col. B [risco], Major P [almer] Smith, Mel [ville] E [milius] Smith". Below is a small sketch of Sindia on his *gadi*; and the portrait, enclosed in an oval, is below that again.

It would seem, from later entries in William Daniell's journal, that a finished portrait was made by Thomas on February 15, 1789, when the party was at Furreedabad on the way to Delhi. It is recorded that "Uncle" was

(43) See note (39).

(43A) Edmund Hague, architect of Queen Anne Street East, stood surety with Robert Smirke of Upper Charlotte Street for the elder Daniell when he obtained permission in 1785 to proceed to Bengal.

(44) Humphries—? Ozias Humphry.

(45) Capt. Allen Cooper, who commanded the *Atlas* Indiaman in which the Daniells came out to India.



MAHDAJI SINDIA.

By WILLIAM DANIELL R. A.

from the engraving by W. D. Taylor in the *Oriental Annual* for 1834.

then "touching up the portrait of Scindia". Again on March 4, when at Delhi, the Daniells took their drawings to Major Palmer's tent to shew them to him and "took also the portrait of Scindia". We do not know to whom this portrait was given or sold: there is no such portrait at Gwalior. We hear however of another copy in March 1792. The Daniells were then on board the *Dutton* Indiaman and were making the voyage from Calcutta to Madras. On March 16 William Daniell notes in his journal "Un[cle] dead-coloured the portrait of Scindia for Capt. [James] Hamilton" the ship's commander; and on the 18th we read "Un[cle] finishing the portrait of Scindia". It has been stated by Sir William Foster in his *British Artists in India* (Walpole Society, vol. XIX, 1931, p. 21, footnote) that the Dowager Countess of Minto is the owner of a small portrait in oils of Mahdaji Sindia which may be the picture painted for Captain Hamilton. We are told that it bears a strong resemblance to the second portrait which we reproduce on the opposite page.

This is taken from the engraving after William Daniell by W. D. Taylor which will be found in the *Oriental Annual* for 1834 (p. 229). It will be seen that it represents Scindia from a different angle to that in the pencil sketch but in other respects the likeness is evident.

Other portraits of Mahdaji Sindia were undoubtedly painted by James Wales who died at Thana near Bombay in November 1791 and who was at Poona in that year with his prospective father-in-law Sir Charles Malet. There is at Government House, Ganeshkind, a group by Wales of three persons, Nana Farnavis, Madho Rao Peshwa, and Mahdaji Sindia. From a letter written by Mahdaji Chintaman to Nana Farnavis in 1791, we learn that "the artist Mussawar Wales" painted these portraits.

Sir James Mackintosh alludes, in a well-known passage in the journal of his visit to Poona in 1805 to a small pagoda in which the usual place of the deity is taken by a picture of Scindia by Zoffany "very like that in the Government House at Bombay". The ascription to Zoffany is very doubtful; and an examination of the darkly coloured copy by Mr. Cecil Burns which is at the Victoria Memorial Hall leaves the distinct impression that the picture which Mackintosh saw (and which is no longer there) was an adaptation of the work of some European artist (presumably Wales) by an Indian painter.

There is also a portrait by Wales in the set of seven portraits which were sold in March 1920 by Sir Harry Malet, the seventh baronet, and which came ultimately into the possession of the late Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, C.S.I., of the Madras Civil Service. Wales's sketches were lent by Sir Charles Malet to Thomas Daniell when he was painting the large picture of the Poona Durbar in 1790 which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1805. There is a copy of Charles Turner's fine mezzotint in the Lyell collection at the Victoria Memorial Hall.

Wales was probably the painter of the portrait of Sindia which belonged to Grant Duff and is mentioned by him in his *History of the Mahrattas*, (Oxford edition, 1921, vol. II, p. 229, footnote). The assertion is made by H. G. Keene in his volume on Mahdaji Sindia ("Rulers of India" series, p. 193) that the painter was "a young Italian, name unrecorded, who was at

Poona shortly before Sindia's death'' ; but it lacks confirmation. Keene is equally in error in stating that Sindia was mortally wounded in an encounter near Poona by assassins sent by the Peshwa. He died of a sudden and violent attack of fever at Wanowri near Poona on February 12, 1794.

Grant Duff's pen-picture of Mahdaji Sindia is worthy of comparison with his portraits (vol. II, p. 229):—

“His countenance was expressive of good sense and good humour ; but his complexion was dark, his person inclining to corpulency, and he limped from the effects of his wound at Panipat. His habits were simple, his manners kind and frank, but sometimes blustering and coarse. He was beloved by his dependants, liberal to his troops in assignments of land or villages but quite the reverse in payments upon his treasury or personal donatives : a characteristic not only of Mahadajee Sindia, but of Mahrattas generally. His disposition was not cruel although his punishments were severe. He could not only write but what is rare among the Mahrattas, he was a good accountant and understood revenue affairs. His districts in Malwa were well managed, a circumstance however which must be ascribed to a judicious selection of agents ; for Sindia, like most Mahratta chieftains, was too much engaged in politics or war to bestow the time and attention necessary to a good civil government. He left no male issue but Dowlut Rao Sindia, the son of his youngest nephew Anand Rao, was declared to be his heir.”

The Santhal Insurrection of 1855-56.

PART I

THE expansion of the British dominion in India and the growth of an Indo-British administrative system naturally conducted India through manifold process of transition,—political, economic and social. This, for diverse reasons, generated fumes of discontent among different sections of the people in different parts of India (1) which burst into flames in the Mutiny of 1857-59. But already before this wider movement, a considerable insurrection had broken out in the year 1855 in a remote corner of Bengal now represented by the Bihar district of Santhal Parganas (2), a part of the Bhagalpur District and also a portion of the Birbhum District. All these apparently unconnected disturbances were really the manifestations of the adjustment of the country during about a century to the new political fact of British dominion and government, and every rising was a test of it, the last great test being the Mutiny.

The Santhals in the Damin-i-koh.

The Santhals who during the middle of the 19th century had come to live in the region of the Damin-i-koh (3) had immigrated there in large numbers during the second half of the 18th century and the early 19th century from Cuttack, Dhalbhum, Manbhum, Barabhum, Chotanagpur, Palamau, Hazaribagh, Midnapur, Bankura and Birbhum (4). Through their own industry and also under encouragement from Lord William Bentinck's government the Santhals cleared the forests covering the plains extending from the base of the

(1) The Bareilly rising of 1816 due to the mismanagement by native officials of the administration of a newly assessed *chaukidari* tax; the Cole rising of 1832 and other petty risings in Chotanagpur and Palamu, Muslim fanatical risings like the Ferazee disturbances at Barasat in 1841 under the guidance of Syed Ahmad and his disciple Meer Niser Ali or Tittoo Mir and later in 1847 at Faridpur under the leadership of their descendant Deedoo Meer (*Calcutta Review*, 1856); the Moplah outbreak in August 1849, in 1851, 1852 and in September 1855 (Lee Warner. *Life of Lord Dalhousie*, Vol. II, pp. 57-59).

(2) This area was indeed a most important and integral part of Bengal in the early 18th century and in the preceding centuries, the capital of Bengal being at Rajmahal, which again was not far from Gaur and Pandua.

(3) 'Notes upon the Geology of the Rajmahal Hills' by Thomas Oldham in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1854, pp. 263-82.

(4) Mr. Sutherland's Report to the Secretary to Government, Fort William, on the Hill people (a copy preserved in the Record office of the Deputy Commissioner of Santhal Parganas); a very valuable and interesting account of the Santhals and their immigration into the Damin-i-koh and the Rajmahal Hills was published by Captain Walter S. Sherwill (then employed in the Government Revenue Survey of the Bihar Province) in *J. A. S. B.* of 1851.

Rajmahal Hills and brought large tracts of land under cultivation (5) inspite of the opposition of the local *pahariahs* (earlier original inhabitants of the Hills, distinct from Bengalis) (6). There the Santhals led simple lives, unacquainted with conventionalities and 'trickeries' (7) with profuse necessary requirements (8). The Danim-i-koh formed in 1832 within a definite boundary, was divided among the districts of Bhagalpur, Murshidabad and Birbhum. It comprised 1366.01 square miles of which the space not occupied by the hills was 500 square miles ; of the latter 246 square miles "were in the survey of 1850 still covered with jungle", the rest of 254 miles being cleared. For fiscal and general civil affairs it was since 1838 under a Superintendent, named Mr. James Pontet of the uncovenanted Civil Service who was required "to guard the interest of the Government by making favourable land settlements with the Santhals and to collect the rent" (9) and who was responsible to the Commissioner of Bhagalpur, and for criminal matters it was under the Magistrate of Bhagalpur and thanas (police stations) were attached to Bhagalpur, Berhampur, and Birbhum.

Genesis and origin of the Insurrection.

The Insurrection of 1855 was not a mere spasmodic outburst of the crude instincts of the semi-savage Santhals ; in fact, wrote Captain Sherwill in 1851, the Santhals were "in general an orderly race of people, their rulers have little more to do than bear their honours and collect the rent" (10). The causes of the Insurrection were deeply rooted in the changing conditions of the times. It had its origin in the economic grievances of the Santhals due to the oppressions and frauds committed on those simple-minded people by the Bengali and the up-country merchants and moneylenders (11). They lent a few rupees, some rice or other articles to the Santhals during the rainy season and "thus became the arbiters of their fate and held in hand their destiny throughout life". At the approach of the harvest season, those money-lenders set out on their annual tours of collection with bullock-carts and horses ; they picked up a stone on the way and having painted it with vermilion to show its genuineness arrived at the farms of their debtors, who had then to provide for the boarding expenses of their creditors' parties. By weighting with the help of the aforesaid piece of stone, the mahajans took away almost the whole produce of the lands of their debtors leaving them over-burdened with debts. Further, these money-lenders (bhakats and moiras) kept two sets of weighing scales,—(1) *Kenaram* or *Bara Bau*, the capacity of which was little more than that of the ordinary measure and which

(5) Sutherland Report; Calcutta Review 1856.

(6) For an account of the *pahariahs*, vide Asiatic Researches, Vol. IV, pp. 45-107; Hamilton Buchanan's Bhagalpur Journal in J. B. O. R. S., 1929; Bishop Heber, *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of Hindustan*, Vol. II, Chapter IX.

(7) Calcutta Review 1856.

(8) J. A. S. B., 1851.

(9) Ibid p. 548.

(10) Ibid.

(11) Pakur Record; some definite instances have been given in the Calcutta Review of 1856.

was used by them for weighing the crops which they took from their debtors, and (2) *Becharam* or *Chota Bau*, the strength of which was below that of the standard measure and which was used for weighing articles lent to the Santhals by them (12). They also charged extraordinarily high rates of interest. A Santhal "saw his crops, his cattle even himself and family appropriated for a debt which ten times paid remained an incubus upon him still" (13). Barhait Bazar and Hiranpur (14 miles to the west of Pakur) were the two important centres where thus sprang up a class of rich money-lenders at the cost of the interests of the Santhals. In short, from the time that these merchants from the outside had "taken up their abode in the hills, the condition of the Santhals had undergone a gradual but serious change" (14). To add to the misfortunes of the Santhals, "the greedy Zamindars living near the borders of the Damin had begun for sometime to cast a wistful eye" on their lands (15). Mr. W. C. Taylor, Assistant Commissioner at Sreekoond (near Tinpahar), wrote to Mr. A. R. Thompson, Deputy Commissioner at Naya Dumka, on the 16th of February, 1856, that the Rajahs of Mahespur and Pakur were hated by the Santhals because they had granted leases of Santhal villages to the Bengalees (16). Further, the Police were "base and corrupt" (17); the "higher grades as well as the lower, with a few bright and honourable exceptions preying upon the people and making unlawful gains" (18). In the law courts were amlahs or officers not less given to illicit gains of a like nature (19). Thus, as it has been graphically described by a contemporary writer, "Zemindars, or more properly speaking, zemindari retainers, as gomasta, surbarakar, peons, and other mahajuns and their 'mustajirs' or agents,—the police,—the revenue and court amlah have exercised a combined system of extortion, oppressive exactions, forcible dispossession of property, abuse and personal violence and a variety of petty tyrannies upon the timid and yielding Santhal" (19a). The Santhals issued a manifesto in the Cytte language, which was published at Ehagalpur and also by some in Purneah and which under date 10th of Sravana or 25th July, 1855, set forth that the "sin of the Muhajun, and of the amlah is great and that the Sahebs delegate the duty of investigation to subordinate officers, who oppress them, and have produced their change of character and action". Lastly, the Europeans employed in Railway construction works also occasionally oppressed the Santhals.

The discontent among the Santhals of the Damin-i-koh was shared though in a less degree by their brethren to the south and west of that tract and vague allusions were made to one Morgo Rajah, who as a Santhal chief living near the Pareshnath Hills, had, it was said, imposed upon himself the

(12) *Ibid.*

(13) *Calcutta Review*, 1860.

(14) *Calcutta Review*, 1856, p. 238.

(15) *Ibid.*

(16) Record Room of the Deputy Commissioner of Santhal Paraganas.

(17) *Calcutta Review*, 1856.

(18) *Ibid.*

(19) *Ibid.*

(19a) *Ibid.*

the task of organising the Santhals of the south in an independent kingdom (20). There was also a story which connected the Santhal insurrection with Meer Abbas Ali, the Ex-Amir of Sindh, who had then come to Hazaribagh on a hunting expedition. The Amir was unjustly charged by one Urjoon Majhi as having incited the Santhals to rise in insurrection. It was an entirely false charge against the Amir who like others of his race was passionately fond of the pleasures of hunting and maintained during his residence at Hazaribagh a "large hunting establishment for which he had then collected the Santhals from Ramgurih, Khurruckdeah, Deoghur, and from the villages of the Bhagalpur and Birbhum districts." Mr. J. Allen, the Commissioner of Chotanagpur, conducted a "careful enquiry" regarding this charge against the Amir and wrote a letter (21) to Mr. Grey, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, on 17th December, 1855, wherein he expressed:—"After a careful enquiry I have arrived at the conclusion, that Meer Abbas Ali Khan has not had anything to do with this insurrection". The Santhals of Hazaribagh might have sympathised with their brethren of the Bhagalpur and the Birbhum districts and might have reinforced their numbers and strength, but there is no reason to believe that the ex-Amir of Sindh did anything to fan their discontent or to countenance their activities.

Oppression seldom goes unresisted and economic troubles very often cause the outburst of smouldering discontents. The Santhals gradually realising the causes of their indebtedness and increasing poverty, sought a redress of their grievances by striking at the roots. In fact, before the outbreak of the insurrection, the Pergunnaites, the Majhis and the (Pradhans) heads of villages "seem to have begun in right earnest to cogitate what might be the proper course for them to pursue" (22). Thus the movement was the product of a "long course of oppression silently and patiently submitted to by those unsophisticated people, unaccustomed to fight for their own rights in the legitimate ways with their neighbours" (23).

Original character of the movement,—not anti-British.

The movement was not anti-British at the beginning ; but it was directed chiefly against the mahajans and traders. The Santhals at first declared that their new God had directed them to collect and pay revenues to the state at the rate of two annas on every buffalo-plough, one anna on each bullock-plough, and half-an-anna on each cow-plough per annum. The rate of interest was to be one pice in a rupee a year (24). Gradually, however, the nature of the movement changed as the insurgents directed their attacks against the oppressive Naib Suzawals, the police and the courts then working under Company Raj. The Santhals were further incensed when those among them who had made night attacks on the houses of the mahajans were "tried

(20) Calcutta Review, 1856.

(21) D. C. Record Room. Vide Appendix 'A' for full text of it.

(22) Calcutta Review, 1856; Pakur Record.

(23) Pakur Record.

(24) Calcutta Review, 1856.

and punished" while "their oppressors (the mahajans) were not even rebuked" (25). Thus their attacks against the officers of the Company and other activities obstructed for a few months the peaceful consolidation of British Rule in the Damin-i-koh and the surrounding areas.

(II)

Signs of disorder in 1854.

I have already noted that signs of disorder had appeared and the chief Santhals had begun to talk about their grievances among themselves in the year 1854. Some among them tried to rob the mahajans of their ill-earned wealth by "dacoities, burglaries and theft" (26) which were, writes a contemporary account, "well meritted reprisals on their unprovoked cruelties" (27) and of which a detailed account has been left for us by late Babu Digambar Chakravarty of Pakur (28). One day early in the year 1854 one Bir Singh, pergunaite (29) of Saan in Lachimpur, declared that their principal God Chando Bonga having appeared before him inspired him with some magical charms through which he could cause the sound sleep of any man whom he wished to rob of his wealth. Thus he formed a powerful gang with many followers, prominent among whom were Bir Singh Majhi of Borio, Kaolah Paramanik of Sindree and Doman Majhi of Satbandha in Lachmipur. They committed robberies in the houses of Isree Bhakat and Tilak Bhakat of Litipara, litu Kolhu (oil-man) of Bagsisa and in several houses at Daria-pur (30). The *moiras* and other *dikus* (the Bengalis so termed by the Santhals) kept a watch on their movements and enquired of them the reasons for their holding meetings at night. They replied that their nightly meetings were meant for worshipping the God Siva of Gadi (a place of pilgrimage lying five miles to the north of Barhait and it is visited by many persons during the Sivaratri festival) and frustrated all the attempts of the *dikus* to know the secrets of their meetings.

There were some rich *moiras* living at Kusma near Barhait. One night, Bir Singh with his followers broke into the house of one of them; and when the *pahariah* archers employed by the mahajans fled away, his party looted also other houses. On the following day the mahajans sent a report to Mahesh Lal Datta regarding those dacoities committed by the Santhals. The Daroga then proceeded with a batch of constables to arrest the Santhals.

(25) Ibid.

(26) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 9th July, 1855, para. 4.

(27) Calcutta Review, 1856.

(28) History of the Santhal Hool of 1855.

(29) "The Santhals are governed by Pergunnites and by Manjhis chosen by themselves from amongst their numbers; the Pergunnite has charge of perhaps twelve villages, from which he collects the rent and makes it over to the Superintendent, the Manjhi has immediate charge of his own village and is answerable for all the misdeeds of their brethren....." J. A. S. B., 1851.

(30) Pakur Record.

He unjustly harassed one rich but innocent Santhal named Gocho, brother of one Bhaja Purganaite. Gocho had in his possession gold mohurs and silver coins "which they called *Lat Sahi Taka* as much as would fill up eight vats of tolerable capacities" (31). His wealth had excited the lust of the money-lenders, who accused him before the daroga of theft. Being roughly handled by Mahesh Lal Datta, Gocho openly expressed before him:—"We shall see how much twine could the Daroga procure, so as to fasten all the peaceful Santhals whom the wicked Daroga wanted to be sent up". Gocho or any other member of his party was not of course arrested immediately by the daroga and during that year there was no disturbance. But it was the calm before a great storm, which soon appeared in the shape of a formidable insurrection. Early in the following year, on the complaint of mahajans, Mahesh Lal daroga arrested Gocho with many other Santhals and inflicted terrible cruelties upon them (32).

Outbreak and progress of the insurrection.

The measures adopted by the said daroga to suppress the dacoities and other disorders greatly intensified the discontent of the Santhals. So 6000 or 7000 of them had come from Birbhum, Bankura, Chotanagpur, and Hazaribagh "for the purpose (it was rumoured) of avenging the punishment inflicted on their comrades in last year's dacoities" (33). "Their endurance had reached its maximum; and while the spirits of the people were in this condition, it needed but a spark to kindle the fire" (34). This spark came from two brothers named Sidhu and Kanhu living at Bhugnadihi, half a mile from Barhait, with their less pushing brothers Chand and Bhairab. Religion often acts as a great stimulating force among the average masses; and here also the story of a miraculous divine revelation inspired the Santhals to take prompt and open measures for the removal of their distresses. The revelation came all of a sudden. Sidhu and Kanhu "were at night seated in their home, revolving many things; their brothers, Chand and Bhyrub were ten miles away at Simulchap; a bit of paper fell on Seedoo's head, and suddenly the Thakur (god) appeared before the astonished gaze of Seedo and Kanhu; he was like a white man though dressed in the native style; on each hand he had ten fingers; he held a white book, and wrote therein; the book and with it 20 pieces of paper, in 5 batches, four in each batch, he presented to the brothers; ascended upwards and disappeared. Another bit of paper fell on Seedoo's head, and then came two men, each having six fingers on each hand; hinted to them the purport of Thakoor's order, and they likewise vanished. But there was not merely one apparition of the sublime Thakoor; each day in the week for some short period, did he make known his presence to his favoured apostles. Sidhu and Kanhu arranged for the proper worship

(31) Pakur Record.

(32) *Ibid.*

(33) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 9th July, 1855, para. 4.

(34) Calcutta Review, 1856.

of the Thakur by erecting his figure in the garden enclosure of their house and in the meanwhile they circulated the mysterious revelation by the symbol of a sal tree branch (35) and a day was fixed for a gathering of all the Santhals to hear the command of their Thakur.

Thus on the 30th of June, 1856, about 10,000 Santhals met at Bhagnadihi, when the divine order that the Santhals should get out of their oppressors' control was announced to them by Sidhu and Kanhu. It has been said that letters were then "written by Kirta Bhadoo and Sunno Manjhies at Seedoo's direction addressed to Government, to the Commissioner, Collector, and Magistrate of Bhagalpur, the Collector and Magistrate of Birbhum, to the Darogahs of Thannahs Dighee and Tikree (Rajmahal) and to several Zemindars and others; from the Darogahs and Zemindars replies were called for within 15 days" (36). The Santhals declared their determination to do away with the Bengali and the up-country mahajans, to "take possession of the country and set up a Government of their own" (37). Certain castes like *kumars* (potters), *telis* (oilmen), blacksmiths, *momins* (Muhammadan weavers), *chamars* (shoemakers), *mahulis* (basket-makers) and *domes*, who were obedient to the Santhals and helped them in several ways, were exempted from their vengeance (38). This is clear from what the Commissioner of Bhagalpur wrote to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal on 28th July, 1855:—"From all accounts it appears that the Santhals are led on and incited to acts of oppression by the *Gwallahs* (milkmen), *Telis* (oilmen) and other castes who supply them with intelligence, beat their drums, direct their proceedings and act as spies. These people as well as the *Lohars* (blacksmiths) who make their arrows and axes ought to meet with condign punishment and be speedily included in any proclamation which Government may see fit to issue against the rebels."

On Saturday, the 18th of Asada, 1262 B.S., the Santhals proceeded to the neighbouring bazar at Panchkethia with the object of propitiating a local goddess (39) much venerated by the people there before commencing their adventure (40).

Their movements caused immense anxiety in the minds of the mahajans of that bazar; five of them, named Manik Chowdhry, Gorachand Sen, Sarthak Rakshit, Nimai Datta and Hiru Datta were killed by the insurgents. Mahesh Lal Datta, daroga of thana Dighee, reached that place on 7th July, 1855, with his party; but he was soon killed by Sidhu along with others (19 persons in all) such as a *mahajan*, two barkandazes and some chowkidars (41). Pertab-narain, Naib Suzawal of Thana Kurhurrea (near Mahagama in the Godda sub-division), who had been for sometime absent on leave but had to join his

(35) This practice is still current among the Santhals; whenever they want to circulate anything they do so by carrying branches of Sal tree in the markets and other places

(36) Calcutta Review, 1856.

(37) *Ibid*; Karun Record; Panchkethia Record.

(38) *Ibid*.

(39) Panchkethia Record.

(40) *Ibid*.

(41) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 9th July, 1855, para. 3.

service owing to the Santhal outbreak ordered one Sulkhun Purganaite to "adopt measures to prevent the insurrection but not finding him he was returning to his Thanah when he met an assembly of Santhals who first took him off to Sonar Chuck saying the Thakur had called him and then there murdered him" (42).

Thus the movements of the Santhals soon proved to be a menace to public peace and order creating a general panic, and the attention of the Company's Government was necessarily drawn towards its suppression. It "came like a thunder-clap upon these who heard of it, that in the centre of Bengal there was rebellion and that a race of people almost unheard and certainly unthought of, were in arms, murdering and running riot" throughout the land (43). "Such a strange occurrence", remarked a writer in the *Calcutta Review* of 1855, "has not clouded the prosperity of the Lower Provinces of Bengal within the Anglo-Indian memory of man". On the 4th of July, 1855, Mr. H. E. Richardson, the officiating Magistrate of Bhagalpur, received a report about the outbreak of the insurrection. The "report seemed so strange and unlikely that at first little credit was attached to it" (44) but being repeated the next day, Mr. H. E. Richardson and Mr. Pontet, Superintendent of the Damin-i-koh, proceeded to Rajmahal where they reached in the evening of the 6th of July (45). The Commissioner of Bhagalpur received two reports about the disturbance in the afternoon of 8th July one (dated 7th July) from the Thana Mohurrir of Borio, and the other (dated 5 A.M. of 8th July) from the Post-Office overseer of that place (46). He immediately requested Major F. W. Burroughs (47) "to despatch a force to Rajmahal for the purpose of quelling the disturbance; the insurgents having given out that they intended to attack that place." But on receiving information in the morning of 9th July that the insurgents were moving in the direction of Bhagalpur as well as in that of Rajmahal after having plundered several villages between Borio and Colgong and that they had in fact arrived within 20 miles of the latter place, he modified his former orders and asked Major Burroughs to arrange to send a detachment to Rajmahal and to be careful "to reserve a force sufficient for the defence" of Bhagalpur if necessary (49). He also "issued orders to the Hill Sirdars, to the zamindars of the neighbouring Pergunnahs and the neighbouring Darogahs for aid in suppressing the insurrection" and he "obtained the loan of hundred muskets from Major Burroughs with the view of arming the town Police" as the Santhal prisoners in Jail (under sentence of

(42) Letter from the Magistrate of Bhagalpur to the Commissioner of Bhagalpur, dated 17th January, 1857.

(43) *Calcutta Review*, 1860.

(44) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 9th July, 1855, para. I.

(45) *Ibid.*

(46) *Ibid.*, para 3.

(47) Letters to Burroughs from the Commissioner, dated 8th July and 9th July, 1855.

(48) Same as 27, para 5.

(49) *Ibid.*, para 6; Letter to Major Burroughs, dated 9th July, 1855.

transportation) had given out that the "station will be attacked and the inhabitants have in consequence been afraid with panic" (50).

The panic increased from day to day (51) and the Commissioner of Bhagalpur wrote to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal on 10th July, 1855, soliciting the sanction of Government "for offering a reward of 100 (or 500) rupees for the apprehension of each of the Thakoors or chiefs engaged in this bloody business". Major Burroughs with 160 rank and file marched towards Rajmahal in the evening of 10th July, 1855; he could not proceed by water for want of boats.

Major Burroughs reached Colgong in the morning of 11th July when he wrote to the Commissioner of Bhagalpur:—We hear that the insurgents move about in very small parties but on their drums sounding they assemble in parties of 10,000 men each for the purpose of plundering and as my detachment is too small to be divided without greatly impairing its efficiency, I think it best to keep in one party ready to oppose any parties I may hear of in this neighbourhood or to intercept their proceeding to Bhagalpur, or move to that station for its defence before they can reach it, should the latter measure appear necessary. As a further rise of the river to the extent of three or four feet (and now it is rising) would place the road between this and Bhagalpur under water I think it right to draw your attention to this point when favouring me with your further instructions. If the river continues to rise for another week or ten days it will I fear be impassable for troops.

P. S. As the insurgents are said to move in scattered parties, it seems to me that it would not be prudent for my detachment to move from this place in search of them" (52).

At 10 P.M. on the 11th of July, 1855, the Commissioner of Bhagalpur wrote to the officer commanding the troops at Dinapore to send additional troops "to aid Major Burroughs in quelling the insurrection and for the protection" of Bhagalpur. At the same time he wrote to Mr. C. E. Chapman, Assistant to the Magistrate of Bhagalpur, that Major Burroughs was likely to fall in engagements with the Santals at Pyalapur on 12th July, and that "in every expedition of this kind troops are required to act under the orders of the Civil power", and so Mr. Richardson being absent from Bhagalpur, he was to "proceed with all expedition to Major Burrough's camp and exercise the authority in question till Mr. Richardson can join."

The Commissioner of Bhagalpur came to know from Major Burroughs through the latter's letter dated 13th July, 1855, that he had not proceeded beyond Colgong and that he did not think it prudent to "move more than 10 or twelve miles forward until the station of Bhagalpur is better protected". He then informed the Major that "this object (defence of Bhagalpur) will be

(50) Same as 44, para 6.

(51) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 11th July, 1855.

(52) Quoted in *Ibid*, dated 12th July, 1855, 4 P.M

very shortly effected" (53) as the Magistrate of Monghyr had already sent there his guard of 38 rank and file and five officers (consisting of 1 Soobadar, 2 Havildars, 2 Naiks) and also further relief was expected by the arrival of troops from Dinapore in 3 or 4 days. He assured him that he need not be under any apprehension about the attack of Bhagalpur by the insurgents before it was prepared for defence and hoped that even if they attempted "to do so they will find it difficult to get across the Ghoga and Chundan Nallas as the Police have charge of the only ghats by which they can come across" (54). He further instructed him thus :—"In my opinion, there is no occasion for you to circumscribe your movements on account of any necessity likely to arise for your restraining your steps in order to defend Bhagalpur. And I therefore hope you will proceed in the direction of Pyalapoor as soon as possible and check the outrages which are being perpetrated in that vicinity. Orders have already been issued to procure elephants for your detachment but I am sorry to say I have as yet been able to obtain only one and the promise of two others" (55).

Being anxious to strengthen the weak forces under Major Burroughs, the Commissioner of Bhagalpur requested the Magistrate of Purneah through his letter dated the 14th of July, 1855, to substitute as soon as possible barkandazes for the Sepoys of the Purneah Guards and to send the latter to help Major Burroughs "with all practicable despatch" and also to send as many elephants as might be necessary not only for the troops that he would send but also ten or 12 more for the use of Major Burroughs' detachment, as the rainy season rendered "it impossible for the men to march without elephants to carry their tents and baggage".

In fact, the movement had taken "a formidable aspect" by the middle of July 1855, and the insurgents had "commenced murdering the inhabitants" (56). They had an encounter, on the 13th of July, in a village close to Pirpainti, with 6 or 8 men of the Railway staff (57), who were defeated, three of them being wounded (58). *Dak* and all "railway operations" between Bhagalpur and Rajmahal had been stopped, the high road between Pirpainti and Sakrigali had been infested by the insurgents who had been murdering men, women, and children. Eye witnesses who had escaped from the scenes of those outrages asserted that "the insurgents loudly boast that the Company's rule is at an end and the regime of their Soobah has commenced" (59). Kishujewan Singh, Thanadar of Dumka, reported before the Commissioner at Bhagalpur

(53) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to Major Burroughs, Commanding Hill Rangers, Camp Colgong, dated 14th July, 1855, 7 A.M.

(54) *Ibid.*

(55) *Ibid.*

(56) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to the Commanding Officer at Dinapore, dated 15th July, 1855.

(57) It should be noted that the E. I. C. had then undertaken the work of extending the Railway through this part of the country.

(58) Same as 50.

(59) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 15th July, 1855, para 4.

that on his way from Dumka to Bhagalpur he saw on the 13th of July 500 Santals collected at Kathikund and 400 at Pakrapara, that in passing between Kendowa and Purgadee (distance of three miles) on the next day he saw about 15000 of them being assembled together (60).

Major Burroughs wrote to the Commissioner of Bhagalpur on the 14th of July, 1855 :—"At this season men are on furlough and possibly one Regiment from Dinapore might not be sufficient to put down the insurgents on this side of the Damin-i-koh,—considering the extensive tract of country they occupy,—its jungly nature, bad roads and determination of the insurgents to fight as in the affair of yesterday with the Europeans and I should therefore be glad to learn your opinion as to whether your views are at once putting down the insurgents by force or by holding the road between Bhagalpur and Rajmahal clear from their intrusion till after the Rains and then proceeding to force them into submission in the meantime trying conciliation means. . . . it seems to me that such a force as can be divided in five or six parties of 400 or 500 men will be required for the work in checking the Rajmahal side of the Damin." Mr. C. E. Chapman also added in his letter to the Commissioner of the same date that the 150 men that had been present with them were "a mere handful in the country" and he requested that a troop or two of Irregular Cavalry stationed at Segowlee should be sent to reinforce them. The Commissioner of Bhagalpur again wrote to the Commanding officer at Dinapore on 15th July, 1855, requesting him for speedy help and he wrote also to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal on the same day soliciting his permission for taking recourse to strong measures ("nothing less than the introduction of martial law") in order to bring the insurgents "to their senses." He replied to the letter of Mr. C. E. Chapman on 16th July informing him thereby that he had received news on that day from Major General Llyod, Commanding at Dinapore, that Headquarters of the 40th Regiment N. I. consisting of 500 rank and file and a full complement of officers under Major Shuckburgh had started from Dinapore towards Bhagalpur by steamer.

Major Shuckburgh arrived at Bhagalpur with the Headquarters of the 40th Regiment N. I. in the morning of the 17th of July by the steamer 'Meghna' and the rest of the Regiment reached the place in the afternoon of the same day by the steamer 'Benares'. Just after his arrival he was instructed by the Commissioner of Bhagalpur on the same day to "take a bazar with him" as under the then circumstances, he would "find no bazar or provisions of any kind" and the Collector of Bhagalpur was also asked to send provisions at Colgong "in a boat once a week." But late on that day, Mr. C. F. Brown, the Commissioner of Bhagalpur, requested Major Shuckburgh to adopt such measures as he thought fit for the defence of Bhagalpur before proceeding to Colgong as intelligence had arrived from the interior on that day that the insurrection was spreading in the direction of Bhagalpur. Several villages including Barkope, Dhurma and Dhoorea (the last of which was within 20 miles of Bhagalpur and lay directly on the road leading to it from the south-

(60) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to Major General Llyod, Commanding officer at Dinapur, dated 21st July, 1855.

east), had been plundered on the 16th of July and large numbers of "frightened inhabitants" were "flocking in every hour with tales of fresh atrocities" and the panic was "consequently intense".

The Hill Rangers (Lt. Fagan Commanding at Bhagalpur, Sergeant Major 1, Native officers 3, Havildars 5, Naiks 10, Sepoys 119, Recruits 54) then stationed at Bhagalpur were "engaged to guard the Treasury, Jail and cutcheries" (62), and so, on the Commissioner's requisition, Major Shuckburgh "deemed it advisable to remain" at Bhagalpur "with the Head quarters of his Regiment for the present" and to send to Major Burroughs 200 men under command of Lieut. Rubie in the steamer 'Benares'. Major Burroughs was also requested on the same day by the Commissioner to send back his (the Commissioner's) portion of the Hill Rangers for the defence of Bhagalpur. Further, Major General Llyod of Dinapore was requested by the Commissioner through a letter of the same date to send down more infantry as well as the Irregular Cavalry for which he had been already written to and also a few Howitzers. He also requested the Government of Bengal to "be pleased to send up more troops by steamer," as there was no certainty to what extent the Santhals might "devastate the district unless subdued promptly with a firmhand" (63).

The Commissioner received a message by electric telegraph of 15 July from Calcutta on 18th July informing him that he must not depend on the troops from Berhampur relieving Rajmahal as the Government was of opinion that officers at Rajmahal should be appointed from Bhagalpur. He then wrote to the Bengal Government at 11 P.M. on the same day that he was thinking of sending 'Meghna' with Captain Sherwill and a small detachment of the Hill Rangers to Rajmahal on the next day for the protection of the inhabitants there and he further recommended the appointment of an "active, intelligent and prudent Deputy Magistrate (not a Native) for Rajmahal." The insurrection having by that time "assumed all the characteristics of a rebellion" (64), "deemed it necessary for the protection of the lives and properties of the peaceable inhabitants of the district to proclaim martial law against the Santhals" (65). The proclamation offered "large rewards for the apprehension of the Insurgent chiefs" (66); for the "principal chief Rs. 10,000, for each of the Dewans (supposed to be about 3 or 4 in number) Rs. 1000" (67). But while the proclamation sanctioned "the destruction of the rebels found in arms", it carefully enjoined "*that their families be spared. The British Govern-*

(61) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to Major General Llyod, Commanding at Dinapore, dated 17th July, para 7, 1855, 10 P.M.

(62) Commissioner's letter to Schuckburgh, dated 17th July, 1855, para 3.

(63) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 18th July, 1855, 11 P.M., para 3.

(64) Letters dated 19th July, 1855, from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur (1) to Major Burroughs, Camp Colgong; (2) to Mr. C. E. Chapman at Colgong; (3) and to Mr. Richardson, Magistrate of Bhagalpur at Rajmahal.

(65) *Ibid.*

(66) Letter from the Commissioner of Bhagalpur to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 18th July, 11 P.M.

(67) *Ibid.*

THE SANTHAL INSURRECTION OF 1855-56.

ment does not make war against women and children." Major Burroughs was accordingly informed by the Commissioner on the 19th of July that he should thereafter act on his own responsibility, (that is, without the "presence of the civil power"), in taking such measures as he considered fit for the "extirpation of the rebels" (68) and that Mr. Chapman's duties in his camp was thenceforth to be confined to helping him "in obtaining information and furnishing supplies and carriage" (69). He wrote to Mr. James Allan, Civil Assistant Surgeon of Bhagalpur, on the same date, to take proper care of the men sent to his hospital after being wounded by the Santhal insurgents, even by supplying them with food at the expense of the Government, and he also sent 15 muskets and some ammunitions for the use of the invalids and retired sepoy in the vicinity of Ghoga (70). Mr. G. A. Pepper, Magistrate of Purneah, had come with 50 men of the Hill Rangers (belonging to the station Guards) to Carragolah with the intention of crossing over to Pirpainti with them but on hearing what had happened at the latter place on 16th July, he sent them on boats to Colgong (71).

Disturbances spread to other quarters with great rapidity. Mr. John Fitzpatrick, 'a very intelligent (indigo) farmer' stationed at Godda, wrote to the Commissioner of Bhagalpur on 11th July that a fearful panic had "seized the inhabitants of that neighbourhood since the perpetration of the barbarous murders on the 7th instant" and that "6 bands of Santhals to the amount of several thousands—not under 20—are proceeding to the place where the pretender Soobah has set up his standard and they have threatened the Bengalees residing in those parts that they will return with an order from the Soobah for their extermination". Towards the Ambar Paragana, one Singhrail Santhal of Lakshanpur joined Gocho Majhi, and after having plundered the said village they proceeded to Litipara where lived two rich mahajans named Isree Bhakat and Tilak Bhakat, "whose ill-gotten wealth had made them immensely rich and who were the greatest eyesore of the Santhals, whose heart-blood their sole business was to drink up" (72). Having already received information about the disturbances at Panchkethia they had fled away to a distant part of the paragana leaving a part of their wealth in charge of their gomasta, Thootha Bhakat, who had "made himself notorious even amongst the Bhakats for his devising and exercising inhuman cruelties on the debtors of Isree and Tilak Bhakats." (73) The Santhals plundered the shops of Isree and Tilak and killed the said gomasta. Some of the shopkeepers and the *moiras* of the village named Jitpur had concealed themselves within holes of Mohul trees. But the Santhals being informed of this through their *diku* (non-Santhals) spies found them out and deprived them of their lives. One named Manik Snuri and his son of the village named Karanghati were shot down with arrows by one Khela

(68) Commissioner's letter to Burroughs, dated 19th July, 1855.

(69) *Ibid.*

(70) *Ibid.*, dated 20th July, 1855.

(71) *Ibid.* The Commissioner thanked him on 21st July for the help offered by him and requested him to lend elephants.

(72) Pakur Record.

(73) *Ibid.*

Santhal. Babu Digambar Chakravarty writes that in that excited condition some of the Santhal insurgents met at Mahadebpur a European indigo planter on an elephant with his son and killed the *Mahut* (driver). The indigo planter tried to save himself by firing some blank shots intended to strike terror into the hearts of his enemies but he was soon surrounded by them. Jolha Santhal of Rampur, brother of one Bindoo Pergunaite with Jagannath Sirdar of Pakur ran towards the gentleman and cut off his head with his tangi. His son riding on a horse was then brought down and put to death by the insurgents, who presented the elephant to Sidhu and Kanhu. It is said that Sidhu and Kanhu did not support the murder of the European gentleman with his son by some of their own followers and so they reprimanded Jagannath Sirdar. Jolha Santhal was under their orders hanged on the branch of a tree ; this created some disaffection among his friends and relatives who tried to raise a party against Sidhu but their attempts were soon checked by the latter. Tribhuban Thakur was also tried and found guilty ; he therefore "took his party aloof and acted independently."

After having plundered Sangrampur, the Santhal insurgents reached Pakur and kept the place almost in a state of siege for three days and nights. On the fourth day *i.e.*, on the 12th of July, 1855, Sidhu, Kanhu, Chand and Bhairab entered the house of the local zamindar(74) but they could not get wealth up to their expectation because most of it including a previous jewel, with which the rajas used to decorate their family god Madanmohan, had been shifted elsewhere. They then plundered the houses of other villagers in quest of wealth. One Brahmin named Radhanath Pande, a bed-ridden paralytic patient, and one Laskhan Mandal, who being a lame man could not run away, were brutally murdered. Two old women were, however, respected by them being provided with some food and also money. Rani Kshemasundari, the then zamindar of Pakur, had at first taken refuge at Jangipur with his family idol Madanmohan ; later on she came back to Jhikarhati a large and prosperous village in his zamindari where she remained for sometime till peace was restored. "Although herself a great loser she materially helped her subjects to rebuild their houses and subsist till the next crop."

After the Santhals had left Pakur, Dindayal Ray, the richest money-lender of Pakur, with his brother Nanda Kumar Ray and his followers, Sristidher Poddar, Nilkamal Mandal, Nitai Mandal and Jadav Mandal returned to Pakur to see whether the treasures of Dindayal Ray lying under the ground were safe. They became exceedingly jubilant on finding the treasures safe and foolishly proclaimed that the zamindar of Pakur having left the place Dindayal Ray was henceforth the zamindar of Pargana Amber. His party proceeded every day to the neighbouring Santhal villages and committed various oppressions on the women and children of the Santhals. Dindayal Ray soon received divine retribution for his rapacities. One day, he with his brother Nandakumar and his sister Bimala proceeded for a bath to a tank named Chowdhuripukur lying to the east of Pakur, when all of a sudden large number of Santhals appeared there ; Nandakumar and Bimala fled away instantly and thus saved

(74) Vide Appendix 'B'.

their lives, while Dindayal being a corpulent old fellow could not leave the spot. The Santhals fell upon him with bows, arrows, swords and tangis ; they set at him their ferocious dogs. Before the Santhals dealt the final blow, Jagannath Sirdar, who was formerly a servant of Dindayal Ray but had latterly joined the Santhals, lopped off his limbs bit by bit with a tangi exclaiming :— “With those fingers you counted your interest and illbegotten wealth ! with this hand you snatched away food from the mouths of the hungry poor.” The Santhals took his head to the temple of Siva Chakrapaniswar, situated within a few yards from the place of tragedy, placed it on a niche in the wall of the temple which they painted with his blood. This temple remained in a dilapidated condition till four or five years ago, faint mark of blood being visible in the innerside of the wall even then. Dindayal's sister Bimala, who had concealed herself in a ditch lying nearby, saw the tragic end of her brother and from her the inhabitants of Pakur heard all the particulars. The Santhals then plundered the villages named Kalikapur, Ballabhpur, Sahabazpur, Baliharpur and Nabinagar.(75)

KALIKINKAR DATTA.

(75) I have noted the abovementioned facts from the work of Babu Digambar Chakravarty.

The Ganges Pilot and His Bride.

A CHARNOCK LEGEND IN MODERN DRESS.

AMONG the tablets which are laid round the base of the Charnock Mausoleum in St. John's Churchyard is a stone slab bearing the inscription "Joseph(1) Townshend, Pilot of the Ganges, skillful and industrious, a kind father and usefull friend: who departed this life the 26th June 1738 aged 85 years." It was found on the 5th July 1869, eighteen inches below the level of the old churchyard of St. John's, over a brick-built grave. Its location in 1789 can be determined from one of the sketches by William Hickey from Daniell's "Twelve Views of Calcutta", which are described elsewhere. Hickey's note is to the following effect: "6. Another old monument, one of the first erected. The date of the inscription is 1738." It is shown close to the north west side of the Church, in the spot so prominently filled by the Rohilla monument in Fraser's view (1824). Foliage can be seen growing out of the top of the masonry, but otherwise it seems to be in fair repair.

Interest attaches to this vanished monument by reason of certain verses which are still remembered and which have given rise to some misunderstanding. The verses which endeavour to connect Townshend with Charnock, are as a matter of fact, a modern production and the true story of their origin was told by the late Mr. J. C. Lyell in an article which was published in the *Hampshire Chronicle* of February 12, 1908:

THE GANGES PILOT.

On a morning in July, 1869, in the sultry rainy season, after my early ride on the Calcutta Maidan, I was sitting in the verandah of my house in Chowringhee reading the '*Englishman*,' when I observed in it the following.

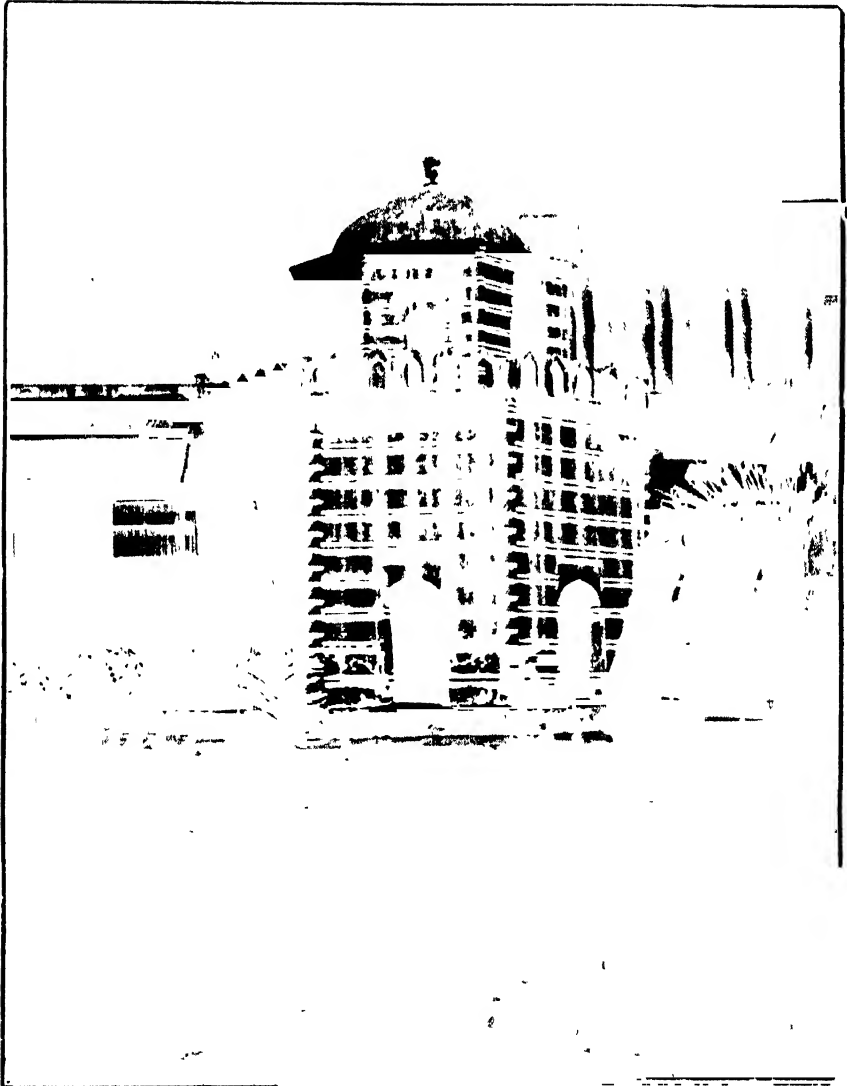
A CURIOUS RELIC OF OLD CALCUTTA.

Within the last few days a tombstone has been disinterred in the old settlement graveyard (St. John's) in Calcutta, bearing this inscription:—

"Here lyes the body of Joseph Townshend,
Pilot of the Ganges ;
Skillful and Industrious;
A Kind Father and a usefull friend, who departed this life
The 26th June, 1738,
Aged 85 years.

(1) The Christian name on the inscription should be "Josia" Dr. C. R. Wilson has pointed out that he is constantly mentioned in the consultation Books as "Josia Townshend." He was master of the sloop *Cossimbazar* in 1704.

BENGAL · PAST AND PRESENT.
VOL. L.



CHARNOCK MAUSOLEUM IN ST. JOHN CHURCHYARD.

I've slipped my cable—messmates, I'm dropping down with tide ;
 I have my sailing orders, while ye at anchor ride,
 And never, on fair June morning, have I put out to sea,
 With clearer conscience, or better hope, or heart more light and free.
An Ashburnham ! A Fairfax ! Hark, how the corslets ring !
 Why are the blacksmiths out to-day, beating those men at the spring ?
 Ho, Willie, Hob, and Cuddie !—Bring out your boats amain,
 There's a great red pool to swim them o'er, yonder in Deadman's Lane.
 Nay, do not cry, sweet Katie—only a month afloat,
 And then the ring and the parson, at Fairlight Church, my doat ;
 The flower-strewn path—the press gang!—no, I shall never see
 Her little grave, where the daisies wave, in the breeze on Fairlight Lee.
 "Shoulder to shoulder, Joe, my boy—into the crowd like a wedge ;
 "Out with your hangers, messmates, but do not strike with the edge !"
 Cries Charnock—"Scatter the faggots ! Double that Brahmin in two,
 "The tall, pale widow is mine, Joe—the little brown girl's for you."
 Young Joe (you're nearing sixty), why is your hide so dark,
 Katie was fair, with soft, blue eyes—who blackened yours ? Why, hark !
 The morning gun ! Ho, steady. The arquebuse to me—
 I've sounded the Dutch High Admiral's heart, as my lead doth sound
 the sea.

Sounding, sounding the Ganges—floating down with the tide ;
 Moor me close to Charnock, next to my nut-brown bride.
 My blessing to Kate at Fairlight—Holwell, my thanks to you.
 Steady ! we steer for Heaven through scud-drifts cold and blue.

St. John's Churchyard being on my way into the city, I went into it to see this newly-discovered tombstone, and found it set up against Job Charnock's Mausoleum. The inscription, finely lettered, was in relief if I remember rightly, and the stone had an ornamental border, in the form of a cable, going round it ; but the verses which I had expected to see were not on it.

According to the *Bengal Obituary* (1848) the monuments in this graveyard had become much decayed before 1802, and were then taken down, being in a dangerous condition, when the stones and marble tablets were carefully removed, and placed near Charnock's tomb. Probably, at that time, the old pilot's headstone had already, by accumulating vegetation and soil, gone below the surface, not unusual in old graveyards. I then went to the office of the *Englishman*, and was informed by Capt. Geo. Fenwick, who was editor, that the author of the verses was Dr. Norman Chevers (2), of the Medical Establishment. The late Sir Joseph Fayrer referred to him as a man of erudition and experience, famous alike as a physician, a medical jurist, and an anti-quarian, a man of wide and varied culture and of a most amiable disposition. In a book published some years ago, "The Light that Failed," by Kipling, a few of these verses are given, but not correctly. The pilot reached an age but rarely attained by Europeans in Bengal, for then, and long after, Fort

(2) Dr. Norman Chevers, C.I.E. retired in 1876 and died in London on December 2, 1886.

William, as Calcutta was then called, was considered a white man's grave. Others who lived as long were Mrs. Frances Johnson (The Begum), who died in Calcutta in 1812 at 86, and Capt. Cudbert Thornhill, who was Master Attendant of the Port, who died in 1809 at 85. Warren Hastings left Calcutta in 1785, when 52 years of age, and lived till he was 85. Capt. John Mills survived the horrors of the Black Hole in 1756, and died in London in 1811. He may have been over 80. He married Mrs. Vincent, a well-known actress.

St. Cross Mead, Winchester,
12th February, 1908.

J. C. LYELL.

Captain Thomas Williamson
Author of
“Oriental Field Sports.”

IN the first number of *Bengal : Past and Present* a short list was given of names which, in the Editor's opinion, might have been included in Mr. C. E. Buckland's "Dictionary of Indian Biography," then but recently published. Surely the name of Captain Thomas Williamson should be added to the list, if only on account of his "Oriental Field Sports," the first edition of which, with its forty coloured aquatint plates drawn by Samuel Howett and engraved under the direction of Edward Orme, is nowadays one of the most desirable of Anglo-Indian publications.

Williamson was a native of London, and was nineteen years of age in May, 1778, when he sailed for India on the *Stafford* Indiaman. Shortly after his arrival in Bengal he was posted to the 2nd Bn. of the 3rd Bengal European Regt ; in July, 1787, he was a Lieutenant in the 30th Bn. Sepoys. In January, 1791, two Companies of the 30th, with Williamson in command, were sent from Bengal to Prince of Wales' Island (Penang) which had been ceded six years earlier by the Rajah of Kedah in return for an annual payment by the Company. In the following April operations were carried out in the Kedah territory on the coast of Malacca against a body of Malays who, with 110 boats and a large land force, had assembled on the mainland in Province Wellesley and raised stockades at Point Pria.

The force employed on this occasion consisted of one Coy. of Bengal Artillery under the command of Captain John Glass, the Commandant of troops at Prince of Wales' I. ; two Coys. of 30th Bn. under Williamson ; and 20 Europeans. On April 12th, under cover of the fire of four gunboats, this small force was landed at Port Pria and attacked the enemy's fortified position. The Malays, taken more or less by surprise, put up but a feeble resistance and were soon defeated. On the 13th, and again on the 15th, the gunboats engaged the Malay prows, finally dispersing them on the latter date. Our total loss during these operations was small, amounting to only four men killed and twenty wounded. Amongst the latter was Williamson, who received his wound on the 12th.

On the reorganization of the Bengal Army in May, 1796, the existing six European Battalions were formed into three Regiments, and Williamson was posted to the 3rd. He was transferred later to 2/13th N. I., and in 1798 to 17th N. I.

Having by this time completed twenty years of active service, not without distinction, he might now reasonably look forward to a spell of furlough at home, followed by advancement to higher rank and more lucrative posts on his return to India. Instead of this, however, he was so unfortunate as to incur the severe displeasure of the Bengal Government, and his military career in consequence was brought to an abrupt termination. And the cause of his undoing was that pen which later was to bring him a certain measure of fame and, presumably, profit. Ignoring the official ban on communications to the press by serving officers, he wrote a letter criticizing the Government's military policy, signed it 'Mentor,' and sent it to the *Calcutta Telegraph*, in whose columns it duly appeared in the issue of March 17, 1798. This newspaper was then owned and edited by Lieutenant Henry McKenly, of the Bengal Invalid Establishment; and one can only suppose that the editor, breaking an established canon of the press, disclosed the identity of his correspondent under pressure from the authorities.

The Board in Calcutta took a serious view of this breach of discipline on Williamson's part—in fact, "they considered his conduct highly criminal and of a dangerous tendency"—and he was suspended and ordered home (*Cons.*, 4 May 1798). Three years later the Court of Directors, though refusing to reinstate him, allowed him to retire on the half pay of his rank.

Before long Williamson turned his attention seriously to authorship, and between the years 1807 and 1813 six works appeared under his name. Three of these reached a second edition after his death in Paris in October, 1817, but only two are remembered today. At the time of publication none of the six would appear to have made much stir, and only that dealing with mathematics was reviewed, not unfavourably, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

The complete list of his books in the British Museum Library is as follows :—

Oriental Field Sports. London, 1807. folio.

2nd edn., 2 vols., London, 1819.

The East India Vade Mecum. 2 vols., London, 1810.

2nd edn. (improved), J. B. Gilchrist, London, 1825.

Complete Angler's Vade-mecum. London, 1808.

2nd edn., London, 1822.

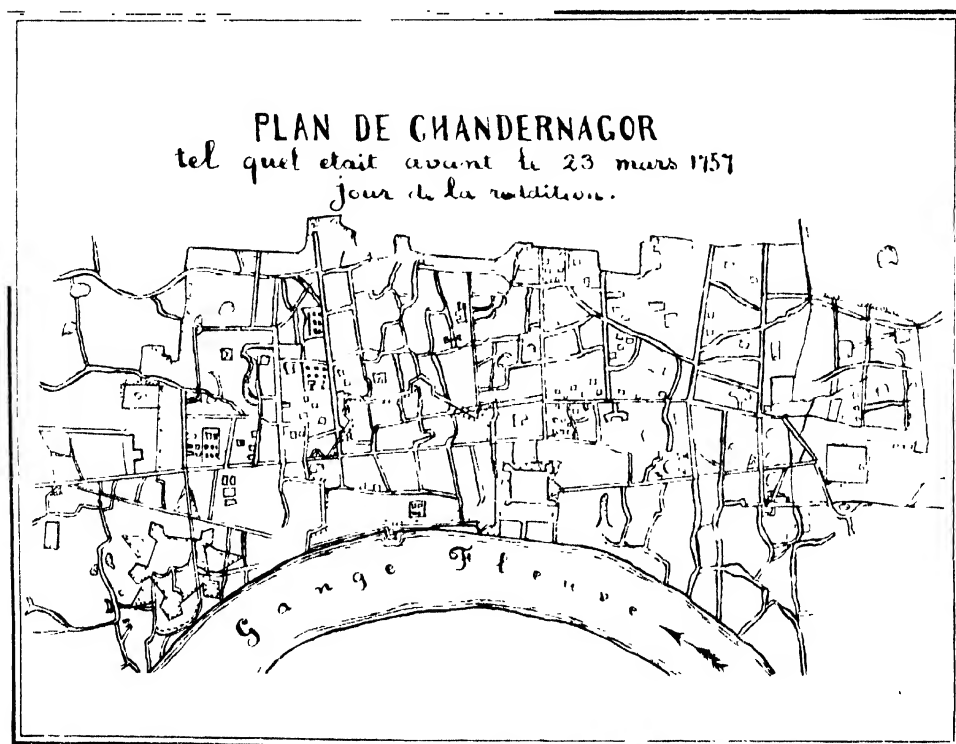
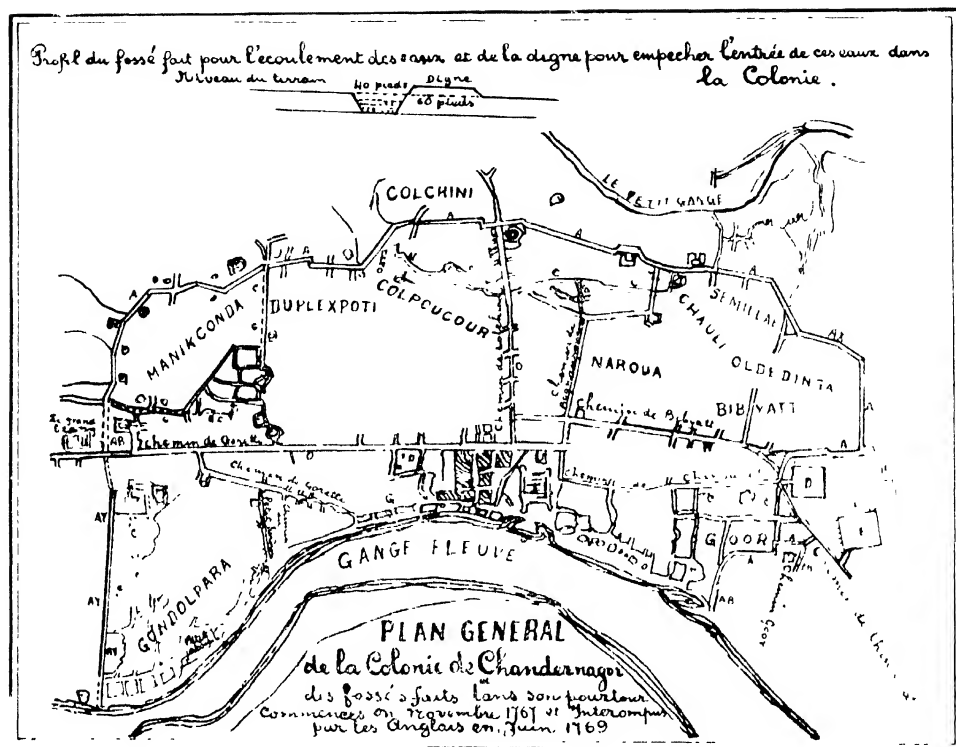
Mathematics simplified, &c. London, 1808 (1).

The Dominions, a Romance. 3 vols. Longman, Hurst & Co., London, 1809.

Europeans in India—descriptions by T. W. 1813.

V.C.P.H.

(1) "Mathematics simplified, and practically illustrated, by the Adaptation of the principal Problems to the ordinary Purposes of Life, and by a progressive Arrangement, applied to the most familiar Objects, in the plainest Terms: together with a complete Essay on the Art of surveying Lands, &c., by such simple Inventions as may for ever banish the Necessity of costly and complex Instruments." By Captain Thomas Williamson, Author of "The Wild Sports of India." Longman & Co. 1808, 1 vol. 8vo.



Plans of Chandernagore 1757 and 1769.

IN February 1772 Warren Hastings on his way from Madras to Bengal to assume the office of Governor General writes impatiently about the visit of Sir Robert Hartland to the latter province. "I do not know what pretext can require his presence there unless it be to examine the ditch at Chandernagore, an object beneath the dignity of the royal representative". (1)

Among the conditions of the restoration of Chandernagore to the French in 1763 had been that the fort should not be rebuilt or the settlement in any way fortified. In 1768 the French had begun, or designed work on excavations "for a drain" which by the early part of 1769 had assumed the proportions of a formidable defensive earthworks.

Early in 1760 the work was visited with the authority of the Governor and Council by Col. Campbell, an Engineer officer, who took the precaution of making extensive enquiries incognito before presenting his credentials to the Governor of Chandernagore. The report of this officer printed below left no doubt as to the real intentions of the work, which appears to have been levelled shortly afterwards by a force of (1) 800 sepoy under an engineer (presumably this same Col. Campbell) sent for this purpose. Cartier's insistence on the treaty provisions was justified nine years later when war broke out and Chandernagore was occupied without opposition.

This episode lends interest to the plans of Chandernagore in 1757 and 1769 for which we are indebted to Mr. Harihar Sett of Chandernagore. That of 1769 also refers incidentally to defensive works against the Mahrattas constructed in 1742.

The originals of these plans are in the archives of Pandicherry. The plan of 1769 bears the following notes which are printed as received, though somewhat cryptic at certain points.

Remarques	Remarques
A. du fossé faites et commencées	A. Fossé, Digues et Baulevard fait pour
LON. Anglais a envoye des Ingenieurs	empêcher les eaux d'entrer dans
Co. avec les officiers d'ougli envoyé par	la Colonie.
le Nabab	A.B.—Sorties du fossé au Nd et du Sd
L. dimensions du o' fossé	restant.

(1) Gleig Vol. I.

(2) Crawford's Brief History of the Hooghly District, 1902.

Remarques	Remarques
N. Espece des Baslien fait par les Dirvir pardaport aux Incurssion des Marattes en l'année 1742	CC. etc. Parties des anciennes limits que pas suivies tant pr. conserver Quantité de maison pour eviter l'irreguladité et les qu'il aurait fallu faire.
	D. Jardin de Taldanga servant d'holland ais
	E. Jardin hollandais
	F. Eglise parroissiale
	G. les Capussins
	H. Arsenal de la compagnie
	L. Fort dementété
	L. Limites hollandaises.

Nous soussignés Claude Ogerdias cy devant Ingenieur en chef de la compagnie hollandaise Antoine de hauteclaire Ingenieur de la compagnie de France & Pierre Antoine Le Vassoult Eteve du genie certiffions et atestons que le présent plan de Chandernagor et de ses dépendances que nous avons levé par les ordres de Monsieur Chevalier Gouverneur des établissements François dans le Bengale, est juste exact et correct en tantes ses dimentions. En foi de quoi nous avons signé.

A Chandernagor le 11 Septembre 1769

C. Ogerdias
Dehauteclaire
Levassoult

There is a certain liveliness about Col. Campbell's report which perhaps justifies its publication in extenso together with the plan of 1769.

Public I. O. Consultations, 2 May 1769.

To the Hon'ble John Cartier, Esq.

Sir,

Lest I should have been disappointed in obtaining that information which Mr. Verelst requested relative to the Franch Drain at Chandernagore, I thought it best upon learning at Chinsura that there was a large body of Cooleys employed upon the excavation to visit the work before I waited on M. Chevalier, and have the pleasure to acquaint you Sir, that I succeeded so well on the undertaking as to examine the greatest part of it, before the French Governor had any intelligence of my arrival.

I found this Ditch or Drain as the French are pleased to term it about three miles in Extent—its breadth about fifty feet in many places and from 12 to 18 feet in depth from the top of the Rampart—the earth of the Excavation which is laid regularly on the inside of the ditch makes the Rampart 50 feet broad and about 6 or 10 feet above the level of the Country and I found 3500 Coolies then at work upon the excavation.

Along the circuit of this ground as far as I placed it there seemed to be about 7 or 800 feet of the excavation not yet commenced upon and what appears not a little remarkable in this Work is that the most finished parts

are those that are most distant from the Public Roads and consequently little exposed to the eye of a British Passenger.

Their overseers differed exceedingly in their reports of the intention of this work though some of them were honest enough to call it an Entrenchment—for my part Sir, I am perfectly of opinion it is capable of being made a good field work in a very few days, I mean those parts of it that are already carried up to the above specified dimensions and there may be at present (as far as I can learn) two Thirds of the whole circuit in that State.

As to the precious pretext of its being a Drain to carry off the backwater of the country which inundates the Town of Chandernagore it can have little weight with Gentlemen of Common understanding who examine the Work with attention.

The French are not remarkable for cutting zig zag drains of 50 ft. broad and 12 or 13 feet deep for the sake of carrying off as much backwater as might be contained in a straight line of one sixth of that capacity neither do I imagine it is consistent with the last articles of Peace, that they should on any pretence whatsoever shut themselves up to the field in such a manner as to render their situation formidable, but you Sir and the Hon'ble Council are the best judges of this matter, and it only becomes my duty to render to the Board the earliest intelligence of a circumstance wherein the Interest of the Hon'ble Co. may be so deeply concerned.

Your most obedient humble Servant,

I have &c., Sir,
Archd. Campbell,
Chief Engineer.

Fort William
27th April 1769.

C. W. G.

“Hindoo” Stuart.

A FORGOTTEN WORTHY AND HIS TOMB.

THE name of Major-General Charles Stuart, called “Hindoo” Stuart by his contemporaries, has long been known to students of early Indian Sanskrit inscriptions from Prinsep’s articles on some of the inscriptions from Bhuvaneswar published nearly a century ago in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

“When Lieutenant Kittoe visited Bhuvaneswar in 1835, and was engaged in preparing impressions of inscriptions, he was treated with discourtesy by the priests who told him “how their images and relics had been carried off by former antiquarians, and pointed out whence the commemorative slab had been actually cut out from the temple of *Ananda Basudeva*. (Ananta-Vasudeva) at Bhuvaneswar by a late Colonel Sahib.” In the list of donations to the Museum of the Asiatic Society appended to the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XI, 1810, Prinsep found General Stewart (Stuart) set down as the donor of “two slabs with inscriptions from *Bhuvaneswar in Orissa*.” Prinsep took a very unfavourable view of the action of Stuart and writes:—

“I cannot conclude these preliminary remarks without animadverting upon the ruthless spoliation which is often carried by ‘soi disant’ antiquaries, to the direct perversion of the true object of research—the preservation of ancient monuments, and their employment to elucidate the history of the country.”(1)

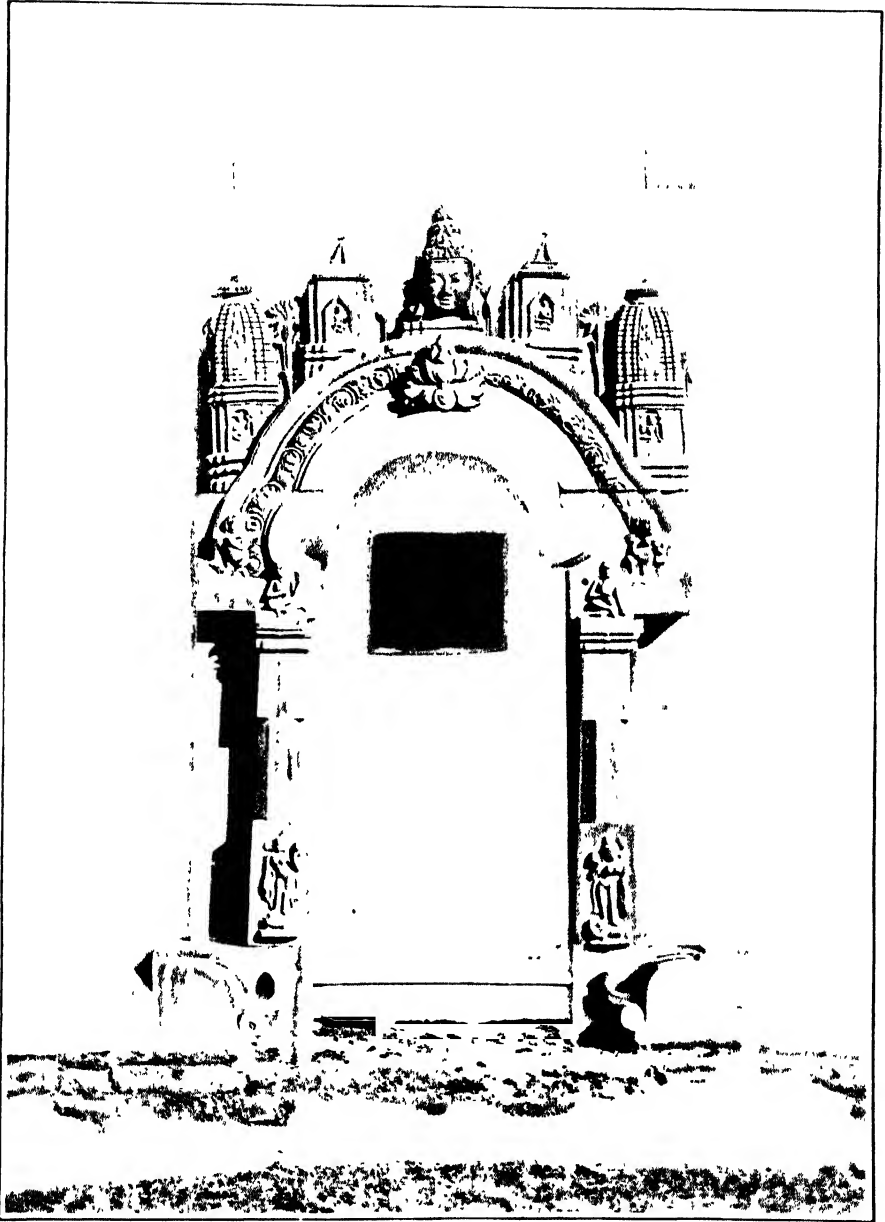
On the suggestion of Prinsep the Society restored the two inscribed slabs, with another inscribed slab in two pieces (probably presented to the Society also by Stuart) to the priests of Bhuvaneswar through Lieut. Kittoe.

In his article on this third slab (now lost) Prinsep writes:—

“The stone was, as stated above, returned to ‘Bhuvaneswar’: but Mr. Kittoe did not find as he anticipated any resulting cordiality or goodwill among the priesthood of the place; on the contrary they brought him a long list of purloined idols and impetuously urged him to procure their return as he had done that of the inscriptions.”(2)

(1) “*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*,” Vol. VI, 1837, p. 280).

(2) *Ibid.* Vol. VII, 1838, p. 558.



THE TOMB OF "HINDOO" STUART
IN SOUTH PARK STREET CEMETERY, CALCUTTA

From a photograph taken by Mr. S. L. Boothroyd for the Calcutta Historical Society

Another inscribed slab from Bhuvaneswar found its way to the Royal Asiatic Society, London. It has been published by Dr. L. D. Barnett in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIII, 1915-16 who writes in a note (p. 150):—

"He (Charles Stuart) was notorious for his love of Indian manners and ideas, which caused him to be known as "Hindoo Stuart" and the audacious manner in which he collected antiquities. . . . Mr. James S. (now Sir Evan) Cotton, who at my request has kindly investigated the subject, writes to me saying:—"In a little book by Lewis giving an account of the Baptist missionary J. Chamberlain, p. 140, he (Stuart) is openly called an idol stealer. If he could not purchase an image that took his fancy, he sometimes took it by force. He kept two Brahmans to look after his trophies, and some of them (now mutilated) seem to have been used to decorate his tomb. . . . When commanding at Saugor, he built a temple there." "

These extracts produce an unpleasant impression of the man. General Stuart died on March 31, 1828, aged 70 years. In the *India Gazette* of Calcutta, Monday morning, April 7, 1828 (reproduced in *John Bull*, Calcutta, April 9, 1828) appeared an obituary notice and character sketch which shows General Stuart as a loving, lovable and admirable man. The anonymous author of this excellent sketch writes about General Stuart the man:—

"General Stuart had studied the language, manners, and customs of the nation of this country with so much enthusiasm, that his intimacy with them, and his toleration of, or rather apparent conformity to, their ideas and prejudices, obtained for him the name of Hindoo Stuart; by which, we believe, he is well known to many of our readers.

"From associating and conversing much with the Natives, he became, of course, well versed in their tales, legends, and superstitions, and possessed stores of information and experience, which undoubtedly, had they been given to the world, would have formed a very curious literary work.

"Possessing such a knowledge of their habits and customs as he did,—united with naturally mild and courteous manners, it is not surprising that General Stuart should have been highly popular with the Natives. But he was more—he was beloved on account of his generosity and kindness to all who applied for his aid, and his constant charity to the poor, of whom, we have been informed, a hundred destitute objects were for years back daily fed at his expense.

"Through life he was distinguished by a peculiar benignity of manner and cheerfulness of disposition—qualities which never forsook him, and which, combined with his varied information and honourable character, acquired for him the esteem of those who had the pleasure of his acquaintance, although they might smile sometimes at a perceptible tinge of eccentricity."

We are then told about General Stuart's last days in Calcutta and his collection :

"For the last two years General Stuart took up his residence entirely in Calcutta, and his house in Chowringhee contained a large collection of Indian antiquities, ornaments, armour and other curiosities, which were always open for exhibition to those who wished to inspect them ; while the General, if he happened to be at home, politely went round, pointing out whatever he conceived most worthy of attention. In his absence again, his servants were instructed to show the museum, as we may well call it, to any respectable person who might call.

"In this collection there are many curious things ; but there is a reason to suppose, that the General himself set a higher value upon it than might by others be accorded to it. It was his intention we believe, to have shipped it for England, and it is even said that he delayed his last cold weather voyage principally on that account ; putting off the day of return to his native land till next season ; but fate had decreed it otherwise, and a few days' illness brought him to the grave."

* * * * *

General Stuart was not an ordinary collector of curios, but a man of taste and understanding. This is proved, not only by his fine collection of Indian medieval sculptures in the British Museum known as the Bridge collection (see Sir Evan Cotton's "Hindoo" Stuart: A Discovery at the British Museum, *The Sunday Statesman*, September 23, 1934) now under re-arrangement, but also by his tomb. A photograph of this tomb has already been published by Sir Evan Cotton with his short sketch of the career of "Hindoo" Stuart published in the *Statesman* of May 14, 1933. The design of the tomb is determined by the original arched doorway of black basalt fixed in front of it. This doorway is unique in style and consists of two pilasters serving as the door jambs and supporting a trefoiled arch of the Indian decorative type of which the two lower foils are much smaller than the upper one. It is not a true arch. The lower foils are cut out of the same pieces as the pilasters, and the upper foil is cut out of the horizontal door lintel. The main moulding of the arch is decorated by a single line of scroll-work consisting of flowers and figures of animals combined harmoniously.

At the apex of the moulding is carved in high relief and in realistic fashion a lotus flower every petal of which is instinct with life. On the top of the lintel is a head with a pretty face serene and dignified in expression. The three eyes on the face indicate that it is the head of Siva. On either side of the head are carved a niche with a figure now clumsily restored and a miniature temple of early Northern Indian style. Between the miniature temples, niches and the head four trees are modelled with vigour.

The style of decoration of the door-frame shows restraint rare in early Indian door-frames. The figures of the river goddesses, Ganga riding on a *Maṅgāra* and Yamuna riding on a tortoise carved at the lower ends of the otherwise plain door jambs show that this arched doorway originally belonged to a temple, presumably a temple of Siva, and assignable on stylistic grounds to the eighth or ninth century A.D.



DANCING SIVA

The sub-structure of the tomb consists of this stone arched doorway in front (on the west) and three other arched doorways of bricks on three sides constructed in imitation of it. The back doorway is walled up and the stone slab bearing the epitaph is fixed on it.

In the original temple the three side walls were solid structures and supported above a spire of the type on the miniature temple the door lintel. But as the sub-structure of the tomb is open on three sides and cannot be expected to carry the load of a tall spire, the spire is omitted, and the super-structure of the tomb consists of a small corrugated dome resembling the *amalaka* of the ancient Hindu temple. We do not know who designed this tomb. But as the unique arched doorway must have belonged to “Hindoo” Stuart’s collection, and as it must have been fixed on the tomb instead of being despatched to England according to his desire, he must have a share in the design which discloses good taste and knowledge.

Mr. W. Berney, a keen student of the history of old Calcutta, has kindly brought to my notice the following passage in an article entitled “The Banks of the Bhagirathi” in *The Calcutta Review*, Vol. VI, (July-December, 1846, p. 434) by an anonymous writer:—

“Berhampur was forty years ago the residence of General Stewart, who used to offer puja to idols and worship the Ganges—he lived to an advanced age, was well acquainted with the manners of the natives ; his Museum in Chouringi was open to the public ; during the last years of his life he fed an hundred destitute beggars daily : he was called “Hindu Stewart”. Like Job Charnock he married a Hindu, and she made a Hindu of him.”

“Hindoo” Stuart’s tomb shows that in spite of his conversion by his wife, Stuart died and was buried as a Christian. Perhaps his Hindu wife predeceased him. The image of dancing Siva from Orissa, now exhibited in the Indian sculpture room of the British Museum, is one of the masterpieces in the Stuart collection (Plate xxii). The story of how the Stuart collection of sculptures found its way to the British Museum has already been told by Sir Evan Cotton. The image represents Siva as the great *yogi* engaged in cosmic dance (creation, and preservation of the universe).

RAMAPRASAD CHANDA.

The Late Father Hosten, S. J.

IT is with the greatest regret that we announce the sudden death at Brussels on April 16 last of the Rev. Father Henri Hosten, S.J., in the sixty-third year of his age and the forty-fourth year of his membership of the Society of Jesus.

Father Hosten was born at Ramscapelle in Belgium on March 26, 1873, and entered the Society of Jesus on September 23, 1891. On October 1, 1893, he embarked at Marseilles for Ceylon where he passed the early years of his residence in the East and where he was one of the founders of the Papal Seminary at Kandy. Coming to Bengal, he was ordained priest by Archbishop Meulemans at Kurseong on October 7, 1906, and taught for many years at St. Xavier's College, Calcutta. Latterly he was attached to the staff of St. Joseph's College, North Point, Darjeeling.

He succeeded in a remarkable degree in capturing the confidence and affection of his pupils. But it was as a historian that he deserves more particularly to be remembered. He was a most accurate and painstaking investigator and was never weary of placing his vast store of knowledge at the disposal of scholars. He was specially interested in the history of the Jesuit Missions in Northern India and upon his subject he was an acknowledged authority. Both Sir Edward Maclagan in his monumental work "The Jesuits and the Great Mogul" and the late Mr. Vincent Smith were constantly in his debt while pursuing their researches and the assistance which they sought was never refused. His self-effacement was such that he seemed to prefer that others should enjoy the fruit of his labours.

Much of his work is scattered through the pages of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, *Bengal : Past and Present* (to which he was a regular contributor) and various Catholic periodicals. But he had at least one important work to his credit ; and that was the publication of the Latin text of the Commentary of Father Anthony Montserrate S.J. on his journey to the Court of Akbar. This extraordinarily interesting and important sixteenth century manuscript was discovered in 1906, almost by chance, in a heap of insect-devoured books in the Library of St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta, by the Rev. Dr. Firminger. It had passed to the custody of the Cathedral authorities from the library of Lord Wellesley's College at Fort William, whence it was transferred to the Calcutta Public Library at the Metcalfe Hall. Father Hosten's recension of the original Latin text was published in 1914 in the third volume of the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (No. 9, pp. 514-704) and is enriched by marginal notes and an apparatus criticus of the utmost value. An English translation which is admitted to "owe everything" to Father Hosten, was brought out in 1922 by Mr. J. S. Hoyland (of the Hislop



THE FATHER HOSTENS

College, Nagpur) and Professor S. N. Banerjee (of the Mahindra College, Patiala), and published by the Oxford University Press. The manuscript, which is dated 1591, contains what must be one of the earliest extant maps of India, which can claim to be really scientific. Of Father Hosten's services to the Calcutta Historical Society, and to the Indian Historical Records Commission, it is impossible to speak too highly. He was, as we have already said, an example of the best type of scholar, both open-handed and helpful. To those who, like the writer, had the privilege of knowing him personally, it is distressing to realise that so useful a life has come to an end. In 1932 he was compelled by failing health to leave India and to return to his native Flanders. But his death was wholly unexpected, and the circumstances very sudden. Up to the very last, he remained working at his documents and papers. He was buried on Good Friday in the cemetery of Woluwe Saint Pierre at Brussels, and a requiem mass was celebrated on April 30 in the Jesuit Church at Brussels (6, Chaussée de Haecht).

Bengal owes much to the Belgian Fathers of the Society of Jesus who have laboured in the Presidency. We have only to mention at random Father Lafont and Father Neut ; but there was a combination of qualities in Father Hosten which almost placed him in a category of his own.

EVAN COTTON.

Our Library Table.

Press List of Ancient Documents relating to the Provincial Council of Revenue at Calcutta—Series II, Vol. III, Part II—2 Jan. 1776 to 29 Dec. 1779. Bengal Govt. Press. Price—Indian, Rs. 4 ; English, 6s. 9d. net.

The Bengal Secretariat Record Room have published another volume in their series of press lists of ancient documents, this being the second instalment of the record of the Calcutta Committee of Revenue. The period covered is the years 1776 and 1777, during the greater part of which the administration was no longer impeded by the disputes in Council, owing to the death of Clavering and Monson. The records "press-listed" deal with a miscellany of revenue and salt affairs ; among which the main thread of connected interest lies in the struggles of John Shore with the problem of the Nadia settlement. Shore, then a member of the Calcutta Committee of Revenue, was deputed in Nadia in April 1776 for the management of revenue affairs of the district and to conclude the settlement of the place with the Rajah ; and a steady stream of correspondence about his deputation runs through subsequent months.

2. In the nature of things, the records, which are the subject of this volume, have not much bearing on the wider historical issue of these momentous years, but are full of interest in point of local history and as a clue to personal detail about the Company's servants and prominent Indian families of the time. As an instance of this local interest may be mentioned a letter to Major Kyd in December 1777 asking him to suppress the bazaar he had established "at Chowringhee".

3. The press list prepared with the traditional care and industry of the Record Room deserves the highest praise : while the Bengal Government Press should have their share of credit for the attractive and well spaced printing which makes a "dry-as-dust" volume a pleasure to glance through and contributes to the clarity of the well prepared index.



VIEW OF CALCUTTA TAKEN FROM FORT WILLIAM
Engraved by W. Byrne, from a Picture Painted by W. Hodgk. R. A.
in the collection of Warren Hastings, Esq.

The Editor's Note-Book.

WE reproduce on the opposite page a photograph of what we believe to be the earliest pictorial representation of the Western portion of the Esplanade at Calcutta. It forms one of the illustrations of Hodges' View of the Calcutta Esplanade. to William Hodges' *Travels in India during the Years 1780 to 1783*, a book published in London in 1793 ; and it will be noticed from the inscription that the original picture was painted for Warren Hastings. There is no clue to the date ; but Hodges left Madras for Calcutta in February 1781 and sailed for Europe in the *Worcester* Indiaman with Sir Elijah Impey and his family on December 9, 1783. The view is taken from the water-gate of Fort William ; and, to quote Hodges' own description, "the glacis and esplanade are seen in perspective, bounded by a range of beautiful and regular buildings ; and a considerable reach of the river, with vessels of various classes and sizes, from the largest Indiaman to the smallest boat of the country, closes the scene". The picture is not included in the forty-eight "Select Views in India" which Hodges brought out in 1786. Seven other pictures from Hastings' collection are likewise reproduced in "Travels in India" ; a Pagoda at Tanjore, the Pass at Sicri Gully, a Banyan Tree, Bidjegur (Bijaigarh), the Palace at Lucknow, Agra, and Gwalior. Some of these are still at Daylesford and we believe that the picture of Calcutta is among them.

MAJOR H. Bullock writes: The date of death and place of burial of Charlotte, Lady Imhoff, daughter-in-law of Mrs. Warren Hastings, are not given in any biographies of Hastings or in works of reference. Her husband who died in 1853 is buried at Daylesford with Warren and his wife, but inquiry produced a reply that Lady Imhoff's grave is not to be found either there, or at Heathfield, Sussex, where many members of her family are buried in the Blunt vault. (The Blunt family held the Heathfield Park estate from before 1826 till after 1890). Following up a clue in Sir Charles Lawson's *Private Life of Warren Hastings*, I have now discovered that Lady Imhoff was buried in Kensal Green cemetery, London, on 20th March 1847. The reference number of the grave is 6712. Imhoff. 131/I.R. They were married in London on February 16, 1795.

THE following letter from Major H. Bullock was published in the *Sunday Times* of July 21, on the subject of Warren Hastings' only son George :
 Warren Hastings' Only Son. "He is stated to have been born on December 1, 1757, baptised on June 19, 1759, and to have died in or about 1764. In the *Memoir of Jane Austen*, by J. E. Austen-Leigh (4th edn., 1879, p. 7) it is stated that Jane's father the Rev. George Austen began his married life in 1764 with the care of George Hastings, who had been committed to his charge ; and that the boy "died young, of what was then called putrid sore throat". The Rector of Deane, Hants., informs me, however, that no entry of the burial of George Hastings appears in the registers of the three parishes with which the Rev. George Austen was connected at this time, viz., Deane, Steventon and Ashe." Major Bullock informs us that about twenty years ago one of the co-editors of the *Life and Letters of Jane Austen* made some attempt to discover the entry of the burial of George Hastings, even going so far as to offer a reward of £5 in the "Agony Column" of *The Times* ; but without success. It is thought that the story in the *Memoir* of 1879 may be incorrect, and that George Hastings may have been confused with Hastings de Feuillide, who was the son of Elizabeth Hancock, who herself was daughter of Philadelphia Austen, the Rev. George Austen's sister. Young Hastings de Feuillide undoubtedly stayed at Steventon as a boy and died young.

MENTION was made by Major Hodson in his article on "Calcutta and the London Stage" (Vol. XLVII, p. 91) of Charles Fleetwood of the Bengal Civil Service who was at the time patentee and proprietor of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. Major Hodson now writes : "I have recently come across a work in the William Salt Library at Stafford entitled 'The Family of Fleetwood of Calwick, co. Stafford', by R. W. Buss (100 copies privately printed, London, 1908) which throws more light on the elder Fleetwood's career. The extract is as follows :—

Charles Fleetwood, Patentee of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, was the only son of Thomas and Frances Fleetwood, of Gerard's Bromley. At the age of 21 he inherited estates estimated to be worth £6,000 per annum. In March 1734, when his taste for gambling had impaired his fortune, he purchased 5/6ths of the Drury Lane Patent. He married Susan, an actress, daughter of Thomas and Grace Williams. She married secondly, Francis Hayman, one of the original forty Royal Academicians (D. N. B.), scene painter at Drury Lane.

His elder son, Charles, acted at Drury Lane under Garrick between 1758 and 1760, playing "Octavius Caesar" to Garrick's "Marc Antony" and Mrs. Yate's "Cleopatra". At his Benefit on April 17, 1759, he made his first appearance as Hamlet, and later appeared as Romeo with Miss Pritchard as Juliet.

In 1760 he left the stage and went to the East Indies, where he made a fortune. He died in April 1784 (Will dated 24 Sept. 1783,

being then of Edgware Road, proved 9 Jan. 1786—P. C. C. Norfolk). He married Mary Herds and had issue :—

Frances Maria, bapt. St. Paul's, Covent Garden, 18 Feb. 1770. She married, 1 January 1794, as his second wife, Rev. Robert Nares, M.A. (D. N. B.) (1753-1829), and died in London 23 Oct. 1794.

Charles, b.c. 1774 ; of Burdwan in 1786. It is probable that the senior male representative, if there be one, is descended from this Charles (senior), in which case the baronetcy is not extinct.

MR. BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI writes : In the October-December 1934 issue of *Bengal: Past & Present* (Vol. XLVIII, p. 138) there is a short note on a portrait of Rajaram Roy, who is traditionally supposed to have been an orphan boy brought up by Raja Rammohun Roy but who was most probably his natural son. In this note the principal facts of Rajaram Roy's life up to the time he left England are recapitulated from the account given by Sir William Foster, and it is stated that details of his later life are wanting. But as a matter of fact, his later career can be traced a few steps further than Sir William takes it. He returned to India in August 1838 by the ship *Java*, and his arrival was noticed in the *India Gazette* for August 13, 1838 :—

Shipping Intelligence. Arrivals at Kedgerree. 11 August—English ship *Java*, [Captain] R. Jobling, from London, 27 April. Arrivals of Passengers—per *Java* :—Rajah Ram Roy, son of the late Rajah Rammohun Roy.

In 1840 he was appointed by Henry Torrens (Deputy Secretary to the Secret and Political Department) to fill the post of an Examiner in the Secret and Political Department of the Government of India on a salary of Rs. 200 a month (see *Calcutta Courier* for June 1, 1840). After this there is no further news of him till a notice in the *Hindoo Patriot* of 3 Feb. 1862, stating that he had adopted Christianity. This is no matter for wonder, for he was not recognized by his real kindred and had no place in Hindu Society. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that the figure of Rajaram Roy is included in a painting by Rolinda Sharples depicting the trial of Colonel Brereton after the Bristol Riots in 1831, which is now in the Bristol Museum and Art Gallery. It is interesting to note that in this picture young Rajaram was mistakenly identified as Raja Rammohun Roy and has been alluded to as such by Mr. N. C. Ganguli in his *Life of Raja Rammohun Roy* published recently.

SET of seven postage stamps has been issued in India to commemorate the King-Emperor's Silver Jubilee. The head of His Majesty in full regalia is prominently displayed. It is partly encircled by the Order of the Star of India with crossed sceptres and the Sword of Maintenance in the background, the Orb appearing in the upper left-hand corner above a panel containing a palm tree

Indian Jubilee Postage
Stamps.

and a river scene. The central vignette printed in black varies for each denomination and represents one of the national monuments in the different provinces. The values with their subjects and colours are as follows:—

- $\frac{1}{2}$ anna, yellow green : The Gateway of India at Bombay.
- 9 pies, deep green : Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta.
- 1 anna, pale brown : Rameshwaram Pagoda, Madras Presidency.
- $1\frac{1}{4}$ annas, purple : Jain Temple, Calcutta.
- $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas, orange : Taj Mahal, Agra.
- $3\frac{1}{2}$ annas, dull blue : Golden Temple, Amritsar.
- 8 annas, magenta : the Pagoda at Mandalay.

WE have received a copy of the special Silver Jubilee Souvenir Number of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, the official organ of the Corporation of Calcutta. It is in every respect worthy of the occasion.

The Corporation's
Jubilee Tribute.

Sumptuously bound in blue and silver, it is literally crammed with illustrations. Not only have the historical pictures in the Victoria Memorial Hall been laid under contribution, but reproductions are also given of famous pictures in the Tagore collections and other galleries. The letterpress deals exhaustively with the home and public life of Their Majesties, and the story of Calcutta is also told with a wealth of detail, including a special section which is devoted to an appreciative account by Mr. H. P. Sanyal of Calcutta's "Treasure House of Royal Relics". As Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the Mayor, says in his foreword, it was a happy idea on the part of Mr. Madan Mohan Burman, one of the members of the Corporation, to suggest the compilation ; and Mr. Amal Home, the editor is to be congratulated most warmly upon the brilliant success with which he has carried the conception into effect. To the Art Press of 20 British Indian Street credit is also due for the wonderful display of Swadeshi printing. It is rightly claimed that every device known to the art of typography has gone to the making of this book, which has been printed and produced entirely in Calcutta. The price, two rupees, brings it within the reach of all.

WITH reference to the note on "An Afghan Refugee" which was published in our last issue (vol. XLIX, p. 151) it has been pointed out

that a tomb in the old cemetery at Wanowri (Poona)
An Afghan Refugee. is inscribed with the name of Colonel Thomas Maughan

of the Bombay Army, formerly Military Secretary to Lords Falkland and Elphinstone and Political Agent at Kolhapur, who died at Poona on July 3, 1861, at the age of 55 (Vol. XLII, p. 131). There is also a tablet in Bombay Cathedral which records that it was erected by his "affectionate and sorrowing widow Meerman Jan Maughan." Maughan (whose wife's name is given as Nina on the cemetery inscription) was born in London on November 30, 1805, and served in the 2nd Sikh War in command of the Scinde Camel Baggage Corps : he had the medal with two clasps for Multan

and Gujrat. The second husband of the Afghan lady, Mrs. Maughan, was Surgeon-Major Francis Ronayne O'Kearney of the Bombay Medical Establishment, who died at Satara on 3 Nov., 1911. The old lady was quite a local celebrity and residents of Satara of the past generation well remember that she used to drive out every evening in an antiquated carriage and pair.

SOMEWHERE in the Dominion of Canada there lives a veteran of seventy-eight who bears the suggestive names of Stanley Delhiforce Tytler.

The following extract from Lord Roberts' *Forty One Years in India* explains the circumstances in which he came by his unique second Christian name (Vol. I, p. 160):—

"Among the fugitives from Delhi [in 1857] was Captain [Robert Christopher] Tytler of the 38th N.I. who after a variety of vicissitudes reached Umballa safely with his wife and children. When Anson's force was being formed for the advance on Delhi, Tytler was placed in charge of the military treasure-chest and through some unaccountable negligence Mrs. Tytler was allowed to accompany him. I believe that when Mrs. Tytler's presence became known to the authorities, she would have been sent out of camp to some safe place but at that time she was not in a fit state to travel, and on the 21st June, a few days after the force took up its position under a heavy cannonade, gave birth to a son in a waggon in which she was accommodated."

THE father died in 1872 but Mrs. Tytler, who was born in 1827, survived till 1907. The Tytlers were well-known figures at Simla, where she

Forty-six Years in
Simla.

founded the Mayo School for Girls. A museum which she formed in their house high up on Jakko, above the United Service Club, was closed after Colonel Tytler's death. As Mrs. Tytler is not known to have left India after her return there in 1861 she must have resided continuously in the country for 46 years. She was a daughter of Lieut-Col. John Lucas Earle and had numerous relatives in the old Bengal Army. Her husband must have been something of a fire-eater in his youth, for he fought a duel in 1844 with Osborne Campbell, the postmaster at Landour and Mussoorie, and seriously wounded him.

UNDER the caption "Children of the Mutiny" an endeavour is made in *The Times* of June 22 to add another name to the list of "Lucknow children" who went through the siege of the Lucknow

A Lucknow Claimant. Residency with their parents in 1857 The claimant is Mrs. Percy Kidd, the daughter of Captain (afterwards Major-General) Thomas Branfill Harrison, who died at Hove on April 25, 1903. But there

are difficulties in the way of admitting the claim. The name of Harrison is absent from the list of members of the Lucknow garrison given in such reliable works as Rees's *Narrative of the Siege*, and Hilton's *Guide to Lucknow*. Moreover the 10th Bengal Light Cavalry, to which Captain Harrison was attached, was stationed at Ferozepore in the Punjab in 1857. The sowars, who were disarmed on July 10, remained loyal till August 19, when they mutinied and seized the guns, killing Veterinary Surgeon Nelson. They were quickly driven off and order was restored. As regards the officers it is expressly stated in the Punjab Mutiny Records (Vol. II, p. 413) that Lieut. Harrison and Captain Dumbleton took refuge with their families in the jail. There is therefore no documentary evidence which the writer has been able to trace to establish the assertion made in the letter that the Harrisons were in Lucknow throughout both sieges. Mrs. Kidd's recollection must be at fault when she states that "all she remembers is being told that she was taken into the Residency as a child of two in a band box from her parents' house outside, a short time before the siege began on July 1, 1857."

IT is well-known that the British flag flies continuously from the "topmost height" of the ruined Lucknow Residency and that it is never lowered except for purposes of replacement. By whom was this order given? The question has arisen through the presentation to the Canadian Government of one of the worn-out flags; but it is not easy to give an answer. There is no reference to it in the numerous books on the Mutiny which we have been able to consult. The suggestion is that when the flag was re-hoisted upon Colin Campbell's capture of Lucknow, the order to fly it continuously was given by the Commander-in-Chief and subsequently confirmed by the Queen. This appears to be the most reasonable reply.

WE had something to say in our last number (Vol. XLIX, p. 146) about Archibald Seton of Touch, who was Resident at Delhi from 1803 to 1811. He was a Bengal writer of 1778 and ended his career in India as Governor of Prince of Wales's Island. According to the East India Register for September 15, 1818, Archibald Seton, senior merchant and third member of Council in Bengal, died at sea on board the *William Pitt* Indiaman, on the voyage Home on March 30 of that year. He died unmarried and we learn from Burke's Peerage for 1923 (s.v. Seton-Steuart, Baronet) that the representation of the family of Seton of Touch devolved upon his two sisters and co-heirs and eventually in 1835 upon his niece Elizabeth Margaret, wife of Sir Reginald Macdonald, 2nd baronet. This lady upon succeeding in that year to the estate of Touch Seton in Stirlingshire, assumed the additional name of Seton and her husband became known as Sir Reginald Macdonald-Seton-Steuart.

IT is clear therefore that the Resident at Delhi cannot be the same person as the eccentric traveller whose death at Grand Cairo is announced in the *Bombay Courier* of October 3, 1795. This is the individual described as "Mr. Seton in Moorman's dress" who is the subject of a sketch by James Wales, and whose long beard gives him an uncanny resemblance to Thomas Hickey's portrait of the Abbé Dubois. According to Dr. Hugh Cleghorn (whose diary was published in 1927) he died in the house of Mr. Baldwin, the consul at Alexandria, on June 10, 1795, shortly after Cleghorn's arrival there. Cleghorn tells us that he had been confined in irons at Jeddah, although more than eighty years of age; and that, although he elected to be known as Major Roberts he was "Mr. Seton of Touch in Stirlingshire whom a strange caprice had at his age carried him without ostensible object to India and who traversed a great part of that continent in the dress of a Moorman, always concealing his name from his countrymen". There is another reference to him in Major David Price's *Memoirs of a Field Officer* (London, 1839, p. 281). Price was at Poona in October 1791, on the staff of the British Resident Sir Charles Malet and as Wales whose daughter, Susan, married Malet was there at the same time, it is probable that the picture was painted in that year. The entry in Price's journal is as follows: "An old and respectable North Briton, whose real name was Seton although he chooses to travel under the name of Roberts and in the guise of a Mahomedan, had recently visited the falls of Gutpoorbah near Gohkauk, the height of which he stated as 170 feet".

Who was this eccentric traveller? There is a legend that Hugh Seton the father of Archibald Seton who exchanged the surname of Smith for that of Seton on his marriage with the heiress of Touch had been in India, but the Setons of Touch have never accepted the identification with the "White Father". The mystery therefore remains unsolved.

MAJOR HODSON writes: Several interesting references to the Daniells' journey into Garhwal may be found in the Bengal Public Proceedings.

On July 30, 1790, the receipt is recorded of a "Narrative by Mr. T. Daniell of a journey from Hurdwar to Serinagur, undertaken by himself, his nephew and two military gentlemen from Anupshur, describing the country and the people, giving a list of European trees and plants found, and stating that they had to return on account of the war between the Rajahs of Serinagur and Almorah". This is accompanied by two rough sketches illustrating the nature of the country and the "kind of chair" in which they were carried in the hills. In a letter dated Bhagalpur, June 26, 1790, to Lieut.-Col. Robert Kyd the Surveyor-General (which is incorporated in the Proceedings for July 30, 1790) Thomas Daniell discusses the distance at which they were from the mountains and explains how it was calculated. In an earlier letter, written to Colonel Kyd from Bhagalpur on June 3, 1790, the elder Daniell reports the changes of temperature which were noted and mentions the natural and mineral

products of the country. Daniell's journey into Garhwal is mentioned also in Captain Thomas Hardwicke's "Narrative of a Journey to Serinaggur" (1796), published in *Asiatick Researches* (London edn., 1801, vol. VI, pp. 309, 347). By way of pictorial record we have the twelve aquatints in the fourth series of *Oriental Scenery*. The two "military gentlemen" who accompanied the Daniells were Capt. John Guthrie and Lieut. John Sturmer.

AMONG the British artists who visited India in the latter half of the nineteenth century was George Landseer (1834-1878), the only son of Thomas Landseer, A.R.A. (1798-1880), the engraver, and nephew of Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A. (1802-1873) and Charles Landseer, R.A. (1799-1879). He went out to India in 1859 and painted a number of portraits of Indian princes and also a series of water-colours of Kashmir. There is an allusion to his portrait of Maharaja Jayaji Rao Sindhia of Gwalior (1843-1886) in *Hobson Jobson* (2nd edn., 1903, pp. 456-457):—

"In the houses of many chiefs every picture on the walls has its *jawab* or duplicate. Major-General Keatinge writes that the portrait of Sindhia in his dining room was the *jawab* (copy) of Mr. C. [*sic*] Landseer's picture and hung opposite to the original in the Durbar room."

Major Richard Harte Keatinge (1825-1904) was Political Agent at Gwalior in 1862-63, and subsequently from 1874 to 1878 the first Chief Commissioner of Assam. It would seem from an entry in "Tagore Pictures" (Calcutta, 1905, p. 9) that Maharaja Bahadur Sir Prodyot Coomar Tagore is the owner of a picture by Landseer: a large portrait of Srimati Maya Sundari Devi, a grand-daughter of the Hon'ble Prosunno Coomar Tagore, C.S.I. But the ascription to Thomas Landseer, A.R.A. needs correction. Thomas was an engraver, and there is no record of his ever having visited India. The entry should read "George Landseer".

OUR portrait on an earlier page of Mirza "Itesa Modeen", as he is quaintly styled by his contemporaries, who accompanied Captain Archibald Swinton to Europe in 1768 and was the first Bengali to make the journey, is taken from a coloured engraving by R. J. Lane, A.R.A. (1800-1872) which is prefixed to Lieut. J. E. Alexander's translation of the Mirza's *Shigurf Namah-i-Velaët* ("Excellent Intelligence concerning Europe"). The book, of which there is a copy in the India Office Library, was published in London in 1827 by Messrs. Parbury, Allen and Co. of Leadenhall Street. Alexander describes himself on the title page as late of H. M's. 13th Light Dragoons and adjutant of the Bodyguard of the Governor of Fort St. George, and author of "Travels in Ava, Persia and Turkey". He dedicates the book to Sir Thomas Munro, who was Governor of Madras from 1820 to 1827. In his preface he

The First Bengali to visit Europe.

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VOL. L



MIRZA IFTSA MOODEEN
(Munshi Muhammad Ali A'tsam ud din)
Accompanied Capt. Archibald Swinton to Europe in 1763
From an Engraving in colour by R. J. Lane, A.R.A. (1800-1872)

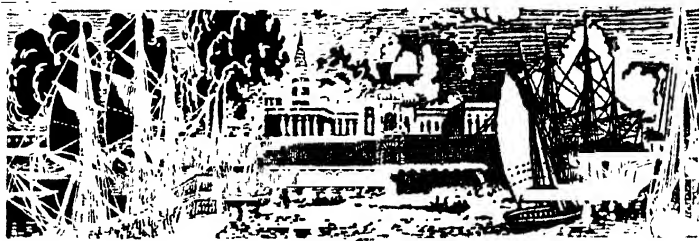
states that only two copies of the original Persian MS. are extant, and that "the one which fell into the hands of the translator was purchased by his Moonshee from the head servant of the son of Captain Swinton (under whose charge Itesa Moodeen went to Europe) after his master's decease." It has transpired from the interesting article by Syed A. S. M. Taifoor which was published in our last issue (vol. XLIX, pp. 117-129) that this copy—or another—is in the possession of Maulana Hakim Habibur Rahman Akhundzada of Dacca; and M. A. K. Azad of 19A Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta, informs us in the course of a letter in the *Statesman* of July 12, 1934, that he is the owner of another copy of the manuscript. Copies of Alexander's translation are to be found in India and there is one at Delhi in the library of Babu Raghunath Singh; and as the translation is followed by the Persian original, it should be possible to collate the Persian with the English. In the spelling of English names there is certainly need of investigation. General Carnac figures repeatedly as General "Charnock"; and there are others which are equally misleading.

DR. DAVID T. WYLIE has sent us some interesting particulars of Captain Turner Macan, the tablet to whose memory in Armagh Cathedral was alluded to in a recent issue of *Bengal: Past and Present* (vol. XLIX, p. 78). Macan was commissioned as a cornet in H. M.'s. 24th Light Dragoons on 1 March 1805, being promoted lieutenant in the following January and captain on 27 April 1818. He went on half-pay in 1819, and was advanced to a half-pay majority, "unattached", in 1832. He was the second son of Robert Macan, of Drumbcashel, Co. Louth (formerly of Armagh) and of Hannah Bagweed his wife (she died in 1824). Turner Macan was born on 30 September 1792, and died in Calcutta at the age of 44 on 25 July 1836. He married, at St. John's Church, Calcutta, on 14 Nov. 1822, Harriett, daughter of the Rev. Westenhall Sneyd, of Newchurch, Isle of Wight; by whom he had issue, as recorded in *Burke's Landed Gentry of Ireland* (1912, p. 429, s. v. "Macan of Drumbcashel"). His eldest brother Thomas, who died unmarried in India, is doubtless the Lieut. Thomas Macan of the 8th Bengal N. I. who died on 14 June 1809, aged 18, and is buried in the old cemetery at Barrackpore (as recorded at p. 155 of Dr. Wilson's *List of Inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments in Bengal* (Calcutta, 1896); and several members of the Macan family, mostly cousins of his, served the Company during the latter part of the eighteenth and first part of the nineteenth centuries.

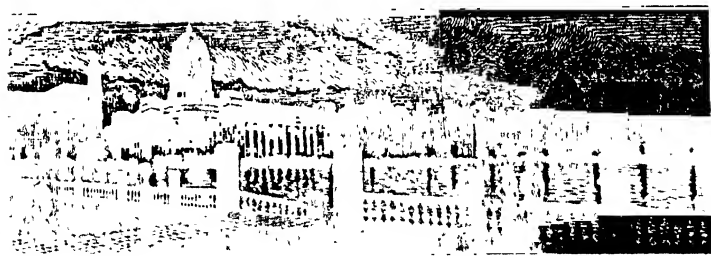
TURNER MACAN'S first station in India was Sikandra near Agra, where he joined his regiment at the end of 1807; and he remained continuously in the country during the following ten or eleven years, having served for some considerable time as extra A.D.C. to the Governor-General. After a short spell in England, he again

An Edition of Firdausi.

embarked about June 1822 for India, where he remained till 1830. He appears to have been appointed Persian Interpreter to the Commander-in-Chief in India whilst on half-pay in England, and to have been serving in that capacity at the time of his death. Dr. Wylie informs us that there is a copy of his "Ferdousee" at the Bodleian with numerous notes. We learn from Major Hodson that the history of the various branches of the Macan family is not easy to unravel ; but it would appear that Capt. Turner Macan's grandmother, the wife of Thomas Macan of Armagh, was a Miss Turner, sister of Elizabeth Turner of Killfallart, Co. Down, who married John Camac of Lurgan, Co. Armagh on 8 Sept. 1744. Several of the children of John Camac and his wife were in Hon. E. I. Co's Service, amongst them Captain Turner Camac whose name (with those of two other Camacs) is to be found in Major Hodson's List (Vol. I, pp. 277-8). The Sneyd family, from which Turner Macan's wife came, was also well represented in India. Mrs. Harriett Macan was in 1837 living at Reading, but we have not traced her further.



BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



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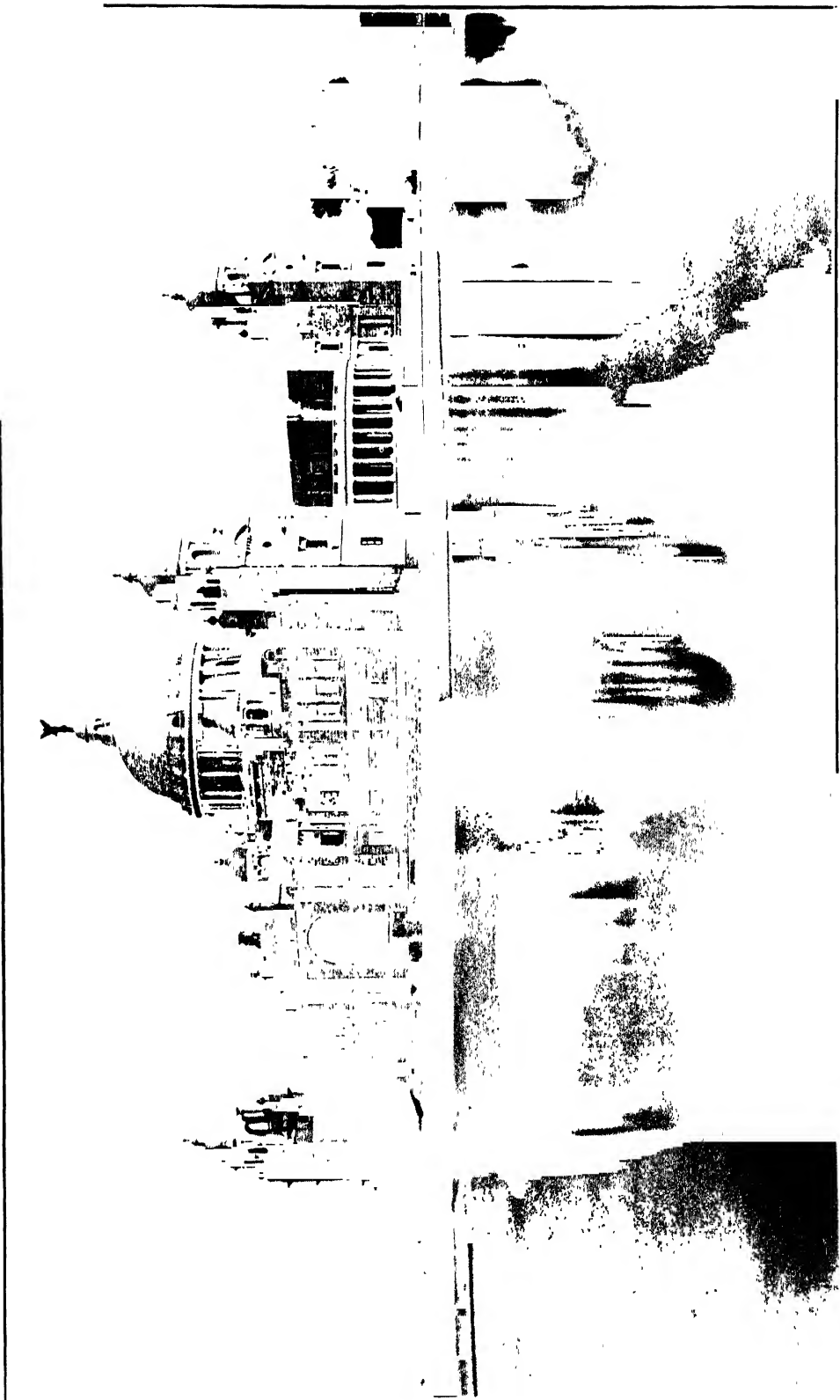
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A Unique Plan of the Battle of Buxar Found in a Copy of Rennell's Bengal Atlas

IN the Century Science Series volume entitled *Major Rennell and the Rise of Modern English Geography*, published in 1895, Sir Clements Markham wrote (p. 57): "The 'Bengal Atlas' was first published, in one volume folio, in November, 1779, and the second edition appeared 'in 1781'. In the *Dictionary of National Biography* it is stated simply that the "Bengal Atlas" "was published in 1779". These statements require modification. The individual maps, plans and views that appear in the various editions of the 'Atlas' are each dated at foot; and these dates of publication range from Dec. 1778 (Plate I, Delta of the Ganges) to Jan. 1781 (Map of the Inland Navigation). The plates remain unchanged, the only variation noticeable being in the colouring of boundaries, &c., which must have been done by hand.

1. The first edition referred to by Markham as having been published in November 1779 can not have contained more than nine plates, for the simple reason that only nine of the twenty-one plates that appear in the issues of 1781 had been published by that date; plates X to XXI, inclusive, having been published between January and December 1780, and the Map of the Inland Navigation in January 1781. Moreover, the original title of the collection of maps, as will be seen from the engraved sub-title-page preceding the maps, was "A Map of Bengal and Bahar: in VIII Parts". At the bottom of this page is printed a small scale index map with the heading "Index to the VIII Divisions of Bengal and Bahar", and the date of publication printed at foot is November 10th 1779. This appears to me to have been intended to serve as a title-page to a quarto edition, as it had been very nicely engraved on a block (or plate) measuring about 11 by 8 inches, and thus suitable for insertion in the quarto edition, the outside measurements of which are 11½ by 9 inches. It has been reproduced before the plates of maps in all the subsequent issues that I have seen. Plate IX, which is a "General Map of Bengal and Bahar", was published on May 25th 1779, and so it is possible that this plate also found place in the so-called first edition of the 'Atlas' (1).

(1) There are, therefore, grounds for suspecting that, if an edition of 1779 is discovered, it will be found to be a quarto volume containing 8, or at most 9, maps.

While engaged during the following year in preparing further maps, including one of "Oude and Allahabad with Part of Agra and Delhi" and a series of larger scale maps of the Ganges and Brahmaputra and the Delta, Rennell would seem to have decided to enlarge the scope of his work.

II. I have seen a copy of the 'Atlas' bearing the date 1780, with the seal of the East India Company's Library on the title-page, containing thirteen plates of maps. On the front title-page this copy bore the description that appears in all subsequent issues, viz., "A Bengal Atlas: containing Maps of the Theatre of War and Commerce on that Side of Hindoostan. Compiled from the Original Surveys; and published by Order of the Honourable Court of Directors for the Affairs of the East India Company". This copy contained a table showing the area of each of the then districts in Bengal and Bihar, but did not contain the "Map of the Inland Navigation" nor the "Tables of Routes and Distances" from (1) Calcutta, (2) Dacca, (3) Moorshedabad and (4) Patna "through the Principal Inland Navigations", which appear in issues of 1781.

III. Next we find a quarto edition, with the maps folded, issued in 1781, in the "Advertisement" to which Rennell wrote:—

"The Intent of publishing the Maps of Bengal, &c. under the present Form, was to render them portable to those who travel over that extensive Country. A large Map is exceedingly incommodious in travelling, either by Land or Water: and if divided, without a proper Regard being had to the natural Divisions of the Country, much Confusion is likely to ensue for Want of a clear Idea of the relative Positions of the several Parts. . . ."

This edition appears to have been issued early in 1781, because we are told on the title-page that it was compiled "by James Rennell, late Major of Engineers, and Surveyor General in Bengal", whereas in a later (folio) edition issued in the same year we find the letters "F. R. S." added after Rennell's name. Rennell was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society on the 8th March 1781; presumably, therefore, the quarto edition was prepared before that date. This edition, like the folio editions, contains only twenty-one plates. The table of Contents, however, as in most of the folio issues, includes twenty-two items, the last of which reads: "No. XXII. Plan of the Battle of Buxar". This quarto issue contains the "Map of the Inland Navigation" and the "Tables of Routes and Distances through the Principal Navigations" referred to above.

IV. The quarto edition was followed by a folio edition, also dated 1781. This change of format necessitated alteration in the wording of the first paragraph of the "Advertisement" as it appeared in the quarto edition. The paragraph was recast into two parts, the first of which is quoted below, as it explains the considerations that influenced Rennell at the time:—

"The Maps of which this work is composed, were at first intended for the sole Purpose of forming a portable Atlas for the Use of the Gentlemen of the Bengal Establishment. But the Inconveniences attending folded Maps, however reconcileable through Necessity in Works of portable Nature, becomes intolerable when the Necessity no longer exists. I have therefore, by Printing the same Maps on a different Paper, furnished out this Folio Atlas for the Use of Libraries or Offices; or

for such Travellers as may consider the Bulk as a lesser Evil than the creasing and wearing of the Maps".

On the title-page of this edition Rennell's name again appears without the letters "F. R. S." after it. Some additions and alterations have been made in the *Errata* list, now printed on a different page ; and a mistake in the number of "Beagers" (i.e., *bighas*) to the square mile, which had crept into the statement of areas in the quarto issue, has been corrected. The "Map of the Inland Navigation" is included, and the "Tables of Routes and Distances. . ." and the statement of areas have been printed on 23 pages of the same (folio) size.

V. Then we find another folio edition, also dated 1781, in which the letters "F. R. S." appear, for the first time, after Rennell's name on the front title-page, which has been completely reprinted, the types used being different from those used in the case of the edition described above under IV. The table of "Contents" has also been recast, the spacing being changed, reference to the "Index Map" added and, the last entry ("No. XXII. Plan of the Battle of Buxar"), which appeared in the table in the previous editions, has now been *omitted*, the list closing with "No. XXI. Views of Oudanulla and Chunargur". The "Map of the Inland Navigation", the "Tables of Routes and Distances" and the statement of areas of districts have also been omitted, the following note being added at the foot of the page :—

"N.B.—The Letter Press, containing Tables of Distances, &c. is bound up by itself, in Quarto".

The quarto volume of letterpress referred to here—intended to form a companion volume to this folio edition of the maps—seems to be now extremely rare (cf. *Notes on the Physical Geography of Bengal, 1764-1776* by Col. F. C. Hirst, p. 3).

That Rennell intended to insert, as Plate XXII, a plan of the battle-field of Buxar is proved not only by the entry in the table of contents in the quarto and folio editions of 1781 described under III and IV above, but also by the following paragraph in the "Advertisement" to those editions :—

"Some Plans of Fortresses are also added, together with the Attack of Oudanulla and Battle of Buxar; each of which terminated a Crisis of the most momentous Kind to the British Power in Bengal".

Hitherto no such plan has been found in any copy of the *Bengal Atlas*. In a copy in the British Museum (Maps 13. e. 5) a note has been made by hand, within brackets, against the last entry in the table of contents (i.e., No. XXII) :—"Not given at present, but promised for an additional price". The authority for this note is not quoted ; but in a copy of the quarto edition (1781) in my possession, a slip of the same paper and printed with the same type as used in the letterpress, pasted inside the front cover, bears the following note :—

"The Publication of the Plan of the Battle of Buxar is postponed, until some further Information respecting the last Position of the British Army is received.

"The Price of the Atlas is regulated accordingly".

Here, then, we have the explanation of what has been a mystery to many—the absence of Plate XXII from the extant copies of the 'Atlas' issued prior to that numbered V above (2).

In 1925, when preparing an account of the battle of Buxar, the only contemporary plan of the battle-field that I could find was one accompanying a copy of the diary of Major Alexander Champion, second in command at the battle, preserved in the Records Department of the India Office (*Home Series Misc.*, vol. 198, pp. 99-107). This, reproduced on a smaller scale, was published with my article on the battle printed in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. XII (1926), pp. 1-38, where its value was discussed (*ibid.* pp. 7-13). No village names are given on this plan; it is neither signed nor dated, and there is nothing to indicate by whom it had been prepared: but it is obviously of contemporary date.

When at Eastbourne recently on a visit to Sir Evan Cotton, I found in a copy of the 1781 folio edition of the 'Atlas' (numbered IV above) in his possession a hand-drawn and coloured plan of the battle-field entitled "Batle [sic] of Buxar", pasted in at the end after Plate No. XXI ("Views of Oudanulla and Chunargur"), that is to say, in the place that should have been occupied by "No. XXII. Plan of the Battle of Buxar" according to the entry in the table of contents. This plan also is neither signed nor dated; nor are the names of the villages, the sites of which are indicated, entered. The topographical features bear a superficial resemblance to those of the plan found with Champion's diary; but detailed examination discloses numerous differences, more particularly in the portion to the east of the Nawāb-Vazīr's line of entrenchments, where the actual fighting took place. On the other hand, the delineation of the area between the Thorā Nadi and the entrenchments to the east of the Buxar fort is practically identical on both plans; this is possibly due to the fact that the British army under Major Carnac had halted at Buxar for nearly three weeks in the earlier part of the same year (1764), and a cursory survey of this area had been then made. Differences, however, in the scales adopted, in the symbols used, in the sites of villages, groves and *jhils*, and the positions of the Nawāb-Vazīr's forces when attacking make it certain that the plans were prepared by different hands. The plan now discovered has been found, after check with the modern Survey of India sheets, to be much more accurate from a topographical point of view. Moreover, it gives greater detail in respect of the positions and movements of the various branches of the contending armies during the course of the action, retreat and pursuit; it also distinguishes Munro's troops from the Vazīr's forces, and the infantry from the cavalry, by different symbols and colours.

(2) Since writing this paper, I have been able, through the courtesy of the Hon. Francis Rennell Rodd, to examine two copies of the quarto volume of letterpress referred to above (Rennell's own copies), still in the possession of the family. Beneath the list of 'Contents' therein is printed the following note:—"N.B. The Plan of the Battle of BUXAR, though intended to be given could not be completed owing to the want of materials." This entry confirms the explanation given.

The question arises whether this plan could be a hand draft prepared by, or for, Rennell, which he intended to have further emended perhaps and engraved for insertion as Plate No. XXII of his 'Atlas'. In this connexion several points may be noticed.

In the first place the paper on which the plan has been drawn bears a very distinctive water-mark. Mr. Edward Heawood, till recently Librarian to the Royal Geographical Society, who has made a large collection and a special study of the water-marks in papers used for maps, has very kindly examined it for me. He informs me that, while some of his examples bearing the water-mark in question are undated, the dates of most of them are certain, and they run from 1747 on to the end of the century. This would show that the plan is not a modern production, and that, in fact, it may well have been drawn in Rennell's time, or rather during the period in which he was engaged in preparing the plates for his 'Atlas'.

Secondly, the size of the plan, which measures 17 by $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches within the frame lines, would have been suitable for the folio edition of the 'Atlas', which measures about 19 by 12 inches.

Thirdly, it is evident that care has been taken to mark the later position (cf. the printed slip inserted in the quarto edition quoted under III above) of the British army. For instance, it shows the position of Munro's army in four stages, viz., (1) as encamped on the 22nd October 1764, (2) as advanced and drawn up in line of battle on the morning of the 23rd, (3) as further advanced to the right front after the engagement began and (4) as encamped after the battle. We know from the extant accounts of the battle that after Munro had drawn up his troops in double line of battle and the action had become general, he ordered an advance. It was then found that the left wings of the lines could not clear a morass that lay on the left front; to enable them to do this, the lines were marched to the right and then faced to the front again. These movements are indicated on the plan (at A) by dotted lines. The movement of Feake's battalion which occupied the extreme right of the front line, and, later, of Harper's battalion immediately behind it in the second line, to silence batteries that had taken position behind some trees on the right front has also been shown by dotted lines; and the advanced position of Munro's lines is shown at B. To enable these details to be shown, it is probable that some officer who had been engaged in the battle had been consulted.

Finally, the colours that have been used, which do not appear on the reproduction, are practically the same as those used by Rennell on the maps in his 'Atlas'.

On the other hand, there are several grounds for holding that the plan was not drawn by Rennell himself. The Thorā Nadi, for instance, is shown as "Torah Nulla" in the 'Atlas' and on his 5 mi. to the inch "Map of the South-west Part of Bahar" prepared in 1773, while on this plan it is written "Tygra Nulla". There are peculiarities of spelling, e.g., "references", "ennemy" and "batle", which, so far as I can find, were not habitual to Rennell; and many of the symbols employed differ from those found on other maps by him. It

may have been a draft made under his instructions by one of his subordinates in India, which he had intended to revise and make suitable for publication ; or it may have been drawn for some other purpose altogether. How it came to be pasted into this particular copy of the 'Atlas' is another question that can not be solved at present. I have had the accompanying full size, uncoloured reproduction of the plan made, and publish it in the hope that some reader of *Bengal Past and Present* interested in the great geographer's work may be able to throw some further light upon the questions involved.

C. E. A. W. O.

A Prisoner of Tipu Sultan.

(An unpublished narrative from the Imperial Records, Calcutta.)

INTRODUCTION.

WHEN, in July 1780, Haidar Ali made his terrible descent into the Madras Carnatic which Burke's eloquence has rendered ever memorable, his myriads of horsemen overran the entire province, pillaging and burning. Fort after fort, garrisoned by the worthless troops of the Nawab of Arcot with some English help, fell in rapid succession. Wandiwash alone held out successfully under Lt. Flint. Even the city of Arcot itself capitulated on 3rd November. Of the surrender of the massive rock-fortress of Jinji (Gingee) Wilkes in his *Southern India* (original ed., ii. 289 *et seq*) gives the following account:—"Ensign [Colin] Macaulay had a similar mission to Ginjee. The lower fortress was carried by assault, a Monsieur Burette in Mohamed Ali's service, having given up his post, without firing a shot. Ensign Macaulay deliberately retired to the upper and impregnable rock . . . His mutinous garrison demanded that he should instantly surrender the place . . . He being outnumbered by the mutineers, was compelled to capitulate, on the condition of being sent to Madras. This condition was violated, and he was sent a prisoner to Seringapatam, and (according to the journal of Sergeant, afterwards Captain, Smith) they did not leave him a shirt."

This is the current story of the event. But Burette's own version of it is available in the Imperial Record office. After his release from captivity and arrival at Poona in December 1786, he wrote a narrative of the fall of Jinji and his adventures as a captive of Tipu, at the bidding of Sir Charles Malet, the British Resident at the Court of the Peshwa, which Malet forwarded to the Governor-General. It tells a quite different tale of the fall of Jinji and also gives an accurate, if summary, account of the captivity of Burette and other European prisoners in the hands of Tipu. This latter portion has a peculiar value of its own, because Burette, by reason of his reputation as a physician and his capacity as an interpreter, was much better treated than the other European captives and lived at large in comparatively greater comfort and affluence. The life of the other European prisoners in their dungeons has been graphically described in the journals of some of them printed in *The Late War in Asia*, *Oriental Miscellany* (repeated in *The Lindsays in India*) and *Captives of Tipu* (of which last book a cheap reprint has been recently issued.)

Burette, a Frenchman of little education, wrote English with difficulty. His whole narrative, in its original text, has no division into paragraphs—or even into sentences—for several pages together, in which no period or capital

letter is given to mark where a sentence ends and another begins! I had to edit the punctuation and spelling in order to make the text intelligible to the reader, and also to correct dates &c. where the ex-captive's memory has failed him. A short chronological table is annexed for the easier understanding of the course of events.

After Burette's narrative I print a detailed and critical description of Tipu's armed forces received from Zain-ul-abidin and annexed to a despatch from John Kennaway (afterwards Baronet), the British Resident at Hyderabad, to the Governor-General, written on 10th July 1789.

MR. BURETTE'S NARRATIVE.

In August 1779 [should be 1780] I was ordered out of Trichinopoly with a Detachment commanded by Captain Beldeffe down the River of Carroor (1), Hyder having commenced Hostilities. We were ordered to pass the Coleroon to join Col. Cosby at Summeveram (2). I was recalle'd to Trichinopoly by Col. Nixon, but as I was the oldest Assistant Surgeon I made a Representation to Captain Beldeffe, who requested Col. Cosby to let me remain with the detachment. I was accordingly ordered to stay. In our way to Madras, Col. Cosby thought proper to escalate Chittopette (3) which Hyder had taken from the English. We were so unfortunate as not to succeed and were obliged to retreat to Gingee at daybreak with several wounded people, particularly Captain Beldeffe who was shot through the arm, and another officer had a stone thrown on his head, and a sergeant unable to walk being ill of a Fistula. I was ordered by Col. Cosby to stay with the wounded, who except the Captain and Officer above mentioned were left at Gingee, at which place the Detachment left their heavy Baggage. Ensn MacCauley was the Commanding Officer of this Place, where we remained near four months without any Pay or assistance. My opinion is that we were betrayed by the Killadar Ameer Munnilean, Commandt of the Rajah of Arcot's Sepoys and Munsur Khan who commanded the Artillery on the Hill to the Right. The beginning of our misfortune was the Desertion of the country People. Mr. McCauley having caught some of them was obliged as an Example to blow one away from the mouth of a Gun. These Rascals came every night to

(1) *River of Carroor*.—Carroor is now a railway station, 40 miles west of Trichinopoly, and in the south-eastern corner of the Coimbatoor district.

(2) *Summeveram*.—Saviavaram, 8 miles north of Trichinopoly.

(3) *Cosby at Chittapet*.—Chittapet is 16 miles north-west of Jinji (South Arcot district) Innes Munro, 73rd Highlanders writes in his *Narrative* (p. 171),—"About 5 hours after we had encamped at Chingliput [on 12 Sep. 1780], we were joined by Lt.-Col Cosby with a detachment of one thousand sepoys, and three regiments of cavalry, which General [Hector] Munro had ordered some time before to march from Trichinopoly, in order to intercept some convoys coming to the enemy through Shangama pass; but having missed them was now ordered to repair to the main army at Conjeeveram. Upon his way thither, a gallant but vain attempt was made to storm the fort of Chitaput, one of Hyder Ally's late acquisitions; after which, having heard of our misfortunes [the disaster to Baillie at Pollur], the colonel changed his route to Chingliput." See also Wilson's *History of the Madras Army*, ii. 2.

plunder the village. Mr. McCauley was obliged to make a sally upon them, but it had not the desired effect. These People went to Hyder who was at Arcot and requested his assistance, a Chief Brahmin named Adras Appah was sent by Hyder with about 20,000 men and a *risalah* commanded by one Monsr Rouyer and another by Toleram a Black Commandt. The Killadar hearing that the Place was to be surrounded, packed up 400 Star Pagodas &c. to send out by an Elephant merchant who was to retreat to Madras. A Sepoy who was an Inhabitant of Gingee acquainted me with the Killadar's Intention, and I made Mr. McCauley acquainted with the same. We stopped the merchant and asked Him if he had any things belonging to the Killadar. He said he had, and immediately delivered them up. A few days after some Sepoys of Col. Bailey's who were left for dead upon the ground [at Pollur] having eight or nine different wounds, were sent to me by Lt. Parr who was in command of Parmacoil, for my assistance.

A short time after this we were surrounded in Gingee by the Enemy, and on the 9th of December they stormed the Fort at different Places. Mr. McCauley retreated to the Great Rock of Rajgarh (4), fighting as long as he was able, supported by a few Sepoys of his own Company. I was upon Keshengarh (4), where the people who were commanded by Munsur Khan opened the Gate and ran away excepting Eighteen men whose assistance I requested to put a Twelve pounder which was loaded with Grape shot and round into the Embrasure. These Rascals put the mouth of the Gun against the wall and left me, I fired the Gun as it stood, which blew down part of the Wall which fell upon some of the Enemy's Sepoys who were below and killed them. I heard a voice carying out in Mallabars, "Munsur Khan dont fire. Your Brothers are well and the Nabob has given you *caul*" [safe assurance in writing.] At daybreak I saw Monsr Rouyer preparing his *risalah* to make an attack upon the place. I wrote to him upon a coconut leaf that if he would give me *caul* and every thing I had, I would come down the Rock or he might come up, if not I would fire upon him. His answer was that I had not any people with me. However the Brahman consented to let me keep every thing that belonged to me,—a Table of Mr. McCauley's wherein he kept his Papers &c., he would not let me take, Munsur Khan having informed him that Papers &c. were in it. The Place being lost, Mr. McCauley was forced by the Killadar and his People who had possession of the Rock to write out a *caul* that he would give up the Place and all the stores &c. belonging to the King of Arcot and the Hon'ble Company, provided that he and his people might proceed to Madras. These Articles were signed, but they did not adhere to them, for when they had taken possession of the Place they sent us prisoners to Arcot, at which place our horses were taken from us.

They sent us under the care of Johnnoo Commandt of a *risalah* of Topasses (5). The next day we were conducted to the Cutcheree when the

(4) *Rajgarh*.—Jinji (Gingee) is composed of three separate rocks,—Rajgarh, Kishangarh and Chandragiri,—connected together by lines of fortification. For a full description see my *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. V.

(5) *Topas*.—Turkish *Topchi*, literally an artillery-man, applied generally to Eurasians or even Goanese dressed in European costume.

wounded People who were left on the Ground after the Sally made by General Mathews at Bednore to be put to a most cruel Death. This action of his gave much Pain to Col. Cossigny. Tippoo likewise made a Demand that Lt. Lambert who was in the French Hospital should be delivered up to him. This Col. Cossigny would by no means agree to. I was the Interpreter when Col. Cossigny and his Major Monsr Secre told Mr. Lambert that they should be very happy to do any thing for him that was in their Power. He requested of them to send him into Mangalore Fort, which they did. General Mathews and his officers were sent Prisoners to Patan and other places ; his Black Commandts were forced into his services and some Europeans and Sepoys ; a great many black boys were made Mussulmen. In short, he behaves in a most tyrannical manner. From Bednore he went to Mangalore, where he likewise behaved in a most shameful manner ; as it is so well-known to most People, I shall not mention the Particulars in my narrative. Every paper and letter which fell into his hands during the cessation of arms he open'd ; a letter which came from General McLeod to a Padre fell into his hands, wherein he mentioned that he hoped soon to punish Tippoo for his treacherous behavior to the Garrison of Mangalore. This letter was read to him by a French *mesteesh* (8) who is a Captain in his service. The brother of the General and another officer who had the misfortune to fall into his hands were put for three days into a house and forced to explain to a man who was formerly an English Dubash (9) every thing that was wrote in a Book of Fortification which was found in Mr. Mathews's Trunk. Three days after these Gentlemen were sent to Bednore in irons and there put to death. Every art was practised by Tippoo to make the Europeans desert ; a rascall whose name is MacLean that deserted from the Fort at the beginning of the Siege did every thing in his power to accomplish Tippoo's wish. A cousin of his by name MacLean was enticed by him to desert and about sixteen other men. This MacLean of Artillery is a quiet good young man and would be happy to return provided he could get his pardon, and I am sure many other Europeans would accompany him.

When Messrs Sadlier Staunton & Huddleston came to the Nabob's camp to settle the articles of Peace (10) I did every thing in my Power to speak to them, but was not able. I saw one Taylor who I remember'd in the English service, who came with these gentlemen as a Trooper. Him I desired to acquaint them of my situation. I took the boy of their doctor into my tent and desired him to acquaint his master of my situation ; I likewise sent a letter by Taylor to Mr. Sadlier, and I follow'd them more than a coss out of camp in expectation of an answer. At last I received a verbal message that they were in too delicate a situation to mention what I requested and

(8) *Mesteesh*.—Portuguese *mestizo*, meaning a man of mixed European and Red Indian blood ; here Eurasian.

(9) *Dubash*.—Hindi *do-vāshi*, an interpreter.

(10) *Commissioners of peace*.—Mr. Sadleir, the second in Council at Madras, Mr. Staunton, the private Secretary to the Governor Lord Macartney, and Mr. Huddleston left Madras on 9 Nov. 1783, and waited on Tipu in his camp at Mangalore. For the insults they had to submit to, see Wilks.

desired me to go back to Tippoo's Camp, for I should certainly be delivered up with the rest of the prisoners. This not happening, I conducted myself in such a manner as I thought least liable to create suspicion in Tippoo, in hopes that an opportunity would soon offer of making my escape. In our way back to Patan we went into the Ball country (11) where he burnt several places, built several wood forts (12) and destroyed every thing he could. We afterwards went to Patan which place he entered with great pomp. The first thing he did was to search for his father's treasure and promised to pay his troops every thirty days. He then published a book in disdain of that of Mahomed. He likewise published several books for the Chiefs at different places ; in them was mentioned what they and the people under them had to do, and what punishment was to be inflicted for different offences.

After he had regulated every thing he went on an expedition into the Coorg country, where a Mahomed Ally Commandt., a Fernand Commandt. of a *risalah* of Topasses, some Peadas and Horse had been beaten by the Coorgs, and Tippoo was obliged to go with the utmost haste to assist them. At first they defended themselves well, but Tippoo deceived them by publishing a general pardon to all those who would lay down their arms. One of their Chiefs promised Tippoo to deliver into his hands one Mawmootey (13) their General. As soon as Tippoo had got him he sent his Sepoys to the different villages and seized all the inhabitants and their effects and sent them prisoners to Patan. The men he made Mussulmen of, and the girls he gave to his slaves. Near thirty or forty of these poor people die every day at Patan from want and are thrown into the river, where the dogs and birds feed on their bodies. At his return to Patan he made a Paper Mill, and one for boring fusils, and ordered that every thing should be made in his own country as the Europeans were *Mordars* (14) and he could do without their assistance. When any People of consequence come before him he is as full of compliments as a devil. The word of command is given to his Troops in Persian.

Having prepared everything for the Marratta War, he feigned to go against them, but on a sudden turned off towards Adoni and made an attack upon it with all his best Sepoys, but did not succeed, having met with a most vigorous resistance from the garrison. He lost near 4000 men killed and wounded and his troops were much disheartened by this repulse. Tippoo having intelligence that a large body of Maratta Horse were coming to relieve the place, made a most confused retreat several coss from the place. Tippoo having intelligence that the garrison of Adoni had returned with the party who come to their assistance, he immediately went in pursuit of them. Not being able to overtake the grand party, he only got possession of a few old horses and Camels. He returned to a place near Adoni and secured every thing that was left in the fort. After several days marching we crossed the

(11) *Ball country*.—*Ballum*, the tract between Mangalore and Seringapatam. (Wilks, ii.)

(12) *Wood forts*.—*Poligars'* strongholds.

(13) *Mawmootey*.—The Coorg rebel chief. (See Wilks, vol ii.)

(14) *Mordar*.—Probably *murdār-khwār*, or eater of dead bodies. *Mardud* (rebel), though most frequently used in Persian histories, is less likely here.

river in boats about three coss from Arcot(?), to which place he sent his heavy baggage. He then marched to some hills near Shavanoor and Bankapoor, where the Marattas made their appearance with about 30,000 Horse. When they saw that Tippoo's army was ready to receive them and had fired a few shot, they went away. The next day a small party only made their appearance. A few days after he attempted to surprize the Marrattas who were near Shavanoor ; the plan was good but too soon put in execution, the Marattas having posted their picquets and keeping a good look out made it difficult. In the attack they lost only a few people and some baggage ; the Marattas then retreated 8 miles on the other side of Shavanoor. Tippoo thinking that they were afraid of him marched directly to Shavanoor. A few shot were fired from the fort, but the next day they surrendered. After Shavanoor was taken the Marattas retreated about 16 miles from it ; Tippoo encamped on the ground the Marattas left and remained there during the Moharam. Having intelligence that Surritte was taken by the Marattas, he marched towards them. They being so foolish as to encamp between two Chains of Hills, Tippoo well knowing their situation and the difficulty they would have in sending away their baggage, at 9 o'clock at night he attacked them. He began the attack by throwing a great number of rockets and fired some guns which put the Marattas into the greatest confusion. He then fell upon their rear, killed a number of men and horse, and took a great deal of baggage.

I have already mentioned that I left Tippoo's on the 27th of November. at three in the afternoon. In my way to the Maratta Camp six horsemen who said they belonged to Holcar wounded me in two places and plunder'd me of every thing I had. I was lucky enough to escape being retaken when Tippoo made his attack on the Maratta Camp. Had I been taken I should certainly have been put to a most cruel death. The Marattas are still in good spirits, but I believe wish much for assistance from some European Power to break Tippoo's lines which are too strong for them. Tippoo has with him about 40,000 Regular Sepoys about 40 or 50,000 Peadas, sixteen thousand of tolerable good Horse, and about 30,000 indifferent. When he left Patan he said he would take 112 pieces of cannon with him, which he did. Every four thousand men have eight six pounders attached to them. Monsr. Lallie has a small party composed of Europeans and country people to the amount of three or four hundred men. Twenty five of these Europeans are mounted and well accoutred, and about the same number are in his Battn. Tipoo has a few Europeans of different nations who are prisoners and made to work at his guns. His camp is well enough regulated ; he has a great number of English Sepoys. His Chief people are very mean fellows, and he himself is capable of doing any thing that is bad.

(Extract from a letter from Mr. John Kennaway to the Governor General, dated Hyderabad the 10th July 1789.)

TIPU'S ARMED FORCES IN 1789

The Flower of Tipoo's army, he says, consists of Twenty-five thousand Infantry, which are clothed and disciplined after the European manner ; they

are divided into two bodies, the uniform of one, which goes by the appellation of Asad alasy, being green, that of the other, denominated Ahmudee, red. They are exercised by the drum and fife, and their officers are named subadars, jemadars, Majors &c—agreeable to the practice in our service, from which he says there appears to be little difference in the Corps except that their words of command are given in Persian.

He has another body of ten thousand men upon which he does not place much dependance, who are also armed with firelocks but are not equal to the former in the perfection of their discipline, nor are they clothed in the same manner. These thirty-five thousand men are muster'd exercised and reviewed in rotation by Tipoo every day. It has been said their number amounts to forty or fifty thousand, but this is a mistake. Besides these, whenever Tipoo is about to undertake any enterprize of moment, he requires from the different parganahs and villages in his dominions about eighty thousand matchlock-men. Formerly there were twelve thousand Pioneers, at present not above half this number.

During Hydar's life the establishment of cavalry, he says, is reported to have amounted to about sixty thousand, which is now reduced to little more than forty thousand; of these four thousand are *Paygah* or Household Cavalry, and denominated *Troops* [? Tooruk] sawars. One thousand and six hundred under the command of Ghazy Khan are called *Seyds*,* the peculiar excellence of which tribe lies in ravaging and destroying a country; formerly they consisted of six or seven thousand men, and were allowed to appropriate whatever plunder they acquired to their own use; but whatever of this description is proved upon them by Tippoo is attached for the service of the Sircar. Of those who furnish their own Horses there are about eighteen thousand, of which number six thousand commanded by Mahommed Khan Bukshee are well equipped and fit for service, the remaining twelve thousand are despicable and of little worth.

Of Tippoo's artillery the number of field pieces, he says, amounts to about two thousand which are well found in all particulars, each being drawn by ten yoke of oxen and attended by two tumbrils; ten Natives and two Europeans are attached to every gun.

There are also twenty-two Iron guns about eight foot, and forty about fifteen foot long; they are furnished like the former and calculated as much as possible for moving with expedition. The tumbrils belonging to them are proportioned to the size of the gun, and drawn by from five to ten yoke of oxen, all of which appeared to be fat and in excellent order. Besides these there are four long iron six and thirty Pounders, which are well furnished and drawn by fifty yoke of oxen. The rest amounting to about one hundred and twenty, iron and brass, are from six to ten and twelve foot in length.

Independant of the above there are, he says, in the fort of Siringapatam two hundred and sixty pieces of ordinance; on each of the twelve bastions of the fort two large and two small pieces mounted, and seven in each curtain.

* Either *Sayyids* or *Bedars* (Karnatakis.)

In four places at convenient distances from each other, twenty guns are deposited. The outside of the fort is defended by twelve batteries, each mounting four guns. Hyder is said to have frequently cast four pieces of cannon in a day ; Tippoo seldom casts more than one.

Seyd Mohommed is killadar of the fort, to whom Mir Zeyn-ul-abdin Khan having frequent access observed that the Rockets and Rocket-men were under his control. He observed, he says, at least sixty thousand small Rockets in the laboratory. Agreeable to Tippoo's orders thirty new ones are made every day and reported to him. The establishment of Rocket-men amounts to about four thousand, who receive from six to seven Rupees per month.

Tho' Tippoo shews every mark of outward attention to Monsr. Lally, yet the latter, he says, is discontented and complains that his command and personal allowance, the former of which consisted of four thousand sepoy five hundred Europeans and five hundred cavalry and the latter amounting to three thousand Rupees per Month, has been reduced,—the former to seven hundred Sepoys three hundred Europeans and two hundred Horse, and the latter to one thousand Rupees ; but that this allowance is regularly paid to him.

The pay and allowances both of Infantry and Cavalry, he says, except in particular instances, are upon little better footing than those of the other native Powers, and he describes the different commanders many of them by name, and from his communication with them as disaffected to Tippoo and ready on any prospects of advantage to themselves to betray their trusts.

CHRONOLOGY.

1780.

- 20 July. Haidar Ali descends the Changama pass (500 miles due west of Jinji) into the Carnatic.
- 12 Aug. Haidar Ali appears before Wandiwash, defended by Lt. Flint, close investment begins early in Dec. Finally relieved by Coote on 23 Jan. 1781.
- 21 „ Haidar before Arcot.
- 22 „ Porto Novo plundered by Karim Sahib.
- 26 „ English army issues from Madras.
- 29 „ Munro arrives at Conjeveram,
- 6-7 Sep. night. Cosby fails at Chittapet.
- 10 „ Disaster to Baillie at Pollur.
- 3 Nov. Arcot city falls before Haidar.
- 5 „ Sir Eyre Coote reaches Madras.
- Circa 20 Dec. Jinji capitulates to Haidar.

1781.

- 17 Jan. Coote marches out of Madras.
- 23 „ „ raises siege of Wandiwash.

18 June. Coote's assault on Chilambaram pagoda fails.

1 July. Coote defeats Haidar at Porto Novo.

1782.

7 Dec. Death of Haidar Ali, Tipu Sultan succeeds.

1783.

3 May. Gen. Matthew surrenders at Bednore (he is murdered in prison in Jan. 1784.)

1784.

11 Mar. Treaty of Mangalore between the English and Tipu Sultan signed.

1786.

Early Jan. Tipu returns from Coorg to his capital.

1 Oct. Tipu enters Savanoor.

27 Nov. M. Burette is released from detention in the Mysore camp, reaches Poona in December.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

Sir Thomas Ivie.

IN the early history of Fort St. George, Madras, an important part was played by a factor named Thomas Ivie. Despatched from Bantam in 1639 to take up the post of Agent at Masulipatam, he called on his way at Armagon, and there heard and approved the proposal of Francis Day to seek a site for a settlement at some spot further south, where the Company's servants would be freed from Musalman tyranny. Ivie reached Masulipatam on 22 July 1639, and assumed charge of the Agency ; but about a month later Andrew Cogan arrived from Surat, with a commission as Agent. This commission had been issued in ignorance of the action taken at Bantam ; but it had behind it the authority of the Company, and after a short contest Ivie gave way and returned to Bantam, refusing a suggestion that he should take charge of the factories in Bengal. Consequently the honour of sanctioning and following up Day's acquisition of Madraspatam fell to Cogan, and not to Ivie.

From Bantam Ivie proceeded to England in 1642. A few months after his arrival he was re-engaged for five years at £200 per annum and sent back to Bantam, with instructions that he was to be employed either at Jambi (Sumatra) or on the Coromandel Coast. His reappointment may have been partly due to his astute investment of £2,000 of his savings in the Company's stock ; but he seems to have made a good impression in other ways, for although a number of charges were made against him, these were all brushed aside. Before leaving, he arranged that a fourth of his salary should be paid to his wife during his absence.

Ivie appears to have reached Bantam in the autumn of 1643. In the following summer he was despatched to Madras as Agent, in succession to Day. He arrived at Fort St. George on 4 August 1644 and at once took up his duties. "The prominent features of his four years' rule," writes Col. Love in his *Vestiges of Old Madras* (vol. i, p. 62), "were the strained relations which arose between Fort St. George and Pulicat ; a mission to the Rajah of Vijayanagar, resulting in the issue of a fresh grant to the British ; a severe famine ; hostilities with San Thomé ; the troubled state of the country consequent on internal dissension and foreign aggression, ending in the expulsion of the Rajah and the absorption of the Carnatic by the King of Golconda ; and the confirmation by the new monarch of British rights and privileges in Madraspatam." The same writer's verdict on Ivie (*ibid.*, p. 80) is that "he was a man of great ability, who successfully guided the ship of state through a troublous period of war and famine. He maintained good terms with the Rajah of Vijayanagar to the last, yet was *persona grata* to Mir Jumla, the King of Golconda's powerful viceroy, from the first ; and he carried Madraspatam

unscathed through a revolution which transferred the Carnatic not only to another dynasty but to another race." To this we may add Ivie's own claims on the subject. In his petition to Cromwell he alleges that he "faithfully discharged the trust that was reposed in me by the Honorable East-India Company as their chief agent at Madrassopotan, where I had not only the command of the persons of thousands of people but also the Fort of St. George and town of Madrassopotan, and made a thorough reformation of the grand abuses which had crept into those parts, to the great injury of the trade ; and erected them a town by my own pains and industry, even out of the sea itself, for the better advantage and security of it."

In March 1644 the Company decided that Ivie should succeed to the post of President of Bantam, on the occurrence of a vacancy. In the following January, however, they determined to send out Aaron Baker (who had already filled that post) instead. Before the news of this change of plan arrived at Bantam, Ivie had been summoned to take up the position of President and had prepared to leave Madras accordingly ; but evidently later intelligence prevented him from starting. The arrival at Madras in May 1646 of the *Hind* from Bantam seemed to afford him an opportunity of proceeding to the latter port and so home within his covenanted five years. The Madras factory, however, was heavily indebted, and he resolved to await further supplies, in order to clear the accounts before quitting his post. These were brought in July by President Baker himself, who, before returning, persuaded Ivie to remain at Madras one year longer. This period passed and still no relief came ; and it was in fact not until the close of Sept. 1648 that Ivie was able to hand over charge and proceed to Bantam. From thence he sailed for England in January 1649, and reached home in the following July. He had paid into the Company's treasury at Bantam 20,000 rials of his own money, receiving a bill of exchange on the Company which produced £5,500 ; while in addition he was paid a sum of about £1,010, probably in part arrears of salary. Thereupon his active connection with the East India Company came to an end.

For further information about his career we are mainly indebted to a little work published by Sir John C. Fox in 1929, entitled *The Lady Ivie's Trial*. From this we learn that he was a son of Thomas Ivie, a gentleman dwelling at Hullavington, Wilts. This individual was remarkable for having had no less than twenty sons, the last of whom he christened Vicesimus. The date of the birth of the younger Thomas is inferred to have been about 1603. In 1618 he was apprenticed to Edmund Winn, of Cannon St., London, and nine years later he was made a freeman of the Merchant Taylors' Company. Of the next five years we know only that he spent part of the time in a voyage to Guiana, in South America. Apparently he had married a sister of the Rev. William Stump, rector of Yatton Keynell, Wilts ; for Thomas Stump, his companion in the Guiana voyage (whose remarkable adventures therein are related in Aubrey's *Natural History of Wiltshire*, p. 81), is described as being his nephew. In Dec. 1632 Ivie was entertained by the East India Company as a factor, with a salary of £30 per annum, and was despatched to Bantam in 1633. Towards the close of the following year we

find him engaged in a voyage to certain Sumatran ports ; and two years later he was evidently at Bantam. There is then a gap in his history until June 1639, when, as we have already seen, he was sent to the Coromandel Coast as Agent.

On his return in 1649 Ivie doubtless hoped to enjoy many years of quiet ease, for he was now a wealthy man and was still only about forty-six. He was soon disillusioned. He found England exhausted by four years of civil warfare. King Charles had perished on the scaffold in the previous January, and the government was in the hands of the House of Commons and a Council of State. The new administration's control was fairly complete in England itself ; but Scotland was hostile ; Ireland was in active rebellion ; and the youthful successor to the crown, though an exile, might land at any moment and revive the embers of war. Trade was in a bad way, and the financial necessities of those in power had brought a heavy increase of taxation. Such conditions were intensified in the eleven years that followed ; and it was not until the Restoration of 1660 that public affairs assumed a more cheerful aspect.

Meanwhile Ivie's private experiences were equally full of bitterness. His wife, who had apparently been living with her relatives near Malmesbury during his absence, set out for London on hearing of his return, but died on the journey. Ivie, determined not to forgo the domestic happiness to which he had been looking forward, quickly set about finding a new consort. Unluckily for him, he made a singularly bad choice. In October 1649 he married Theodosia, daughter of John Stepkin, of Stepney, and widow of George Garrett (son of a London alderman of that name). She was about twenty years younger than Ivie, and she seems to have accepted him merely because he was rich, while she had been left in very poor circumstances. Sir John Bramston, who was a connection of hers and became a bitter enemy of her new husband, declares in his *Autobiography* (p. 15) that the latter was "a trade fellow, but welthie, which he had gotten in the East Indies (yet not so rich as he was thought). He was knighted after the Kings returne, but merited whippinge rather." According to this authority, the match was pressed upon the lady by her father and her consent won by her suitor "courtinge her with jewells and fine things and makeing large promises" ; but this does not altogether tally with Mrs. Ivie's own account.

At all events the marriage turned out a very unhappy one. The lady was gay and extravagant ; Ivie himself was probably masterful and violent ; and the result was a series of quarrels ending in separation. Ivie's first intention appears to have been to settle in London and seek civic honours, for in May 1650 he was elected alderman for Langbourn Ward. The inroads made upon his fortune by his wife's expenditure and unscrupulous behaviour—he alleges that once, while he was absent in the City, she removed from his house "at least £300 of rich East India stuffs and plate"—soon made him reconsider this determination, and only two months after his election he gave up his aldermanship, at the cost of a fine of £600. He had determined to retire to the country and retrench ; and for this purpose he bought from a relative

Malmesbury Abbey House (about five miles from his birthplace). The building is still standing, and it is stated that Ivie's arms are yet to be seen over the chimneypiece in the banqueting room.

Ivie took possession of his new residence in the spring of 1651 ; but he did so alone, for his wife refused to accompany him thither, and remained deaf to his appeals. Soon she instituted a suit in Chancery against him, alleging desertion and cruelty and claiming alimony. The result was that in July 1652 Ivie was ordered to pay his wife a separation allowance of £300 a year. The litigation continued, each party making the wildest charges against the other. Wearied by the delay and fretting at the expense, Ivie appealed to the Protector Cromwell to interfere, but this the latter naturally declined to do. Ivie took his revenge by publishing his appeal as a tract, entitled *Alimony Arraigned*, thus making public his charges against his wife. One of the questions at issue in the litigation concerned an estate at Wapping, which had belonged to Mrs. Ivie's father ; but this point was settled by arbitration in the autumn of 1655.

In 1653 Ivie was elected Master of the Merchant Taylors' Company, but succeeded in excusing himself from serving the office. He continued to live at Malmesbury ; and after the Restoration he received the honour of knighthood from Charles II (25 May 1661). By this time a reconciliation with his wife had been effected, and he had withdrawn the charges he had made against her. Before long a daughter (Frances) was born, who later became the wife of Sir Robert Clark, Clerk of the Crown under James II. The ill-assorted couple continued to reside together until 1669, when Ivie went off to London, declaring that he could no longer afford to live at Malmesbury. His wife refused to join him there, and filed a bill in Chancery against him, the upshot of which is not recorded.

Ivie died at Malmesbury in 1674 (probably on 31 March) and was buried at Hullavington on 3 April. His widow, by no means discouraged by her experiences of matrimony, married a third husband, by name James Bryan, though she still retained the style of Lady Ivie. Bryan died in 1684. Two years later Lady Ivie was indicted on a charge of having forged deeds in the Wapping case, but she was acquitted. Her stormy career was ended by death at some date towards the end of 1694 or early in 1695.

WILLIAM FOSTER.

Monumental Inscriptions, Third Series

I HAVE previously printed two series of monumental inscriptions in *Bengal : Past & Present*, namely (1) "Monumental Inscriptions in the United Provinces", which appeared in vols. XLI and XLII, and comprised 430 epitaphs ; and (2) "More Monumental Inscriptions", which appeared in vols. XLII to XLVI, and comprised epitaphs numbered from 341 to 1405. This Third Series may be deemed to have begun with the list published under the heading "Anglo-Indian Monumental Inscriptions in Kent & Sussex" in No. 98 of this journal (containing epitaphs numbered from 1406 to 1457), and is now continued. The following instalment comprises a further list of inscriptions relating to persons connected with India from Kent and Sussex, and a list from Bhuj, Cutch.

H. BULLOCK, Major.

Parish church, UCKFIELD, Sussex (Mural tablet)

1457. Frederick William DAY, H.M. 63rd Regt., 2nd son of John Day, died Ambala, 3 Dec. 1879, aged 34.

Parish church, SOUTHBOROUGH, Kent.

1458. John Charles VEASEY, Commissioner, Bengal Civil Service, born 24 Oct. 1845, died 1 Oct. 1892.
1459. Sarah Watson widow of Lt.-Col. T. Colclough WATSON, Bengal Army, died Southborough, 18 June 1874, aged 76.
1460. Katharine Crawford, daughter of A. R. RAMSAY, M.D., H. E. I. C. S., and wife of Thos. MACDUFF of Montreal, died Tunbridge Wells, 6 Apr. 1890, aged 67.
1461. Revd. Thos. Leys LESSEL, for many years a missionary in India, born Aberdeen, 23 Apr. 1807, died Southborough 8 May 1884. Isabella Ross Fawcett, widow of the above and daughter of Alexander Ross RAMSAY, M.D., H.E.I.C.S., born Calcutta, 16 Dec. 1820, died Southborough, 13 Apr. 1910.
1462. Edwin Alexander ROWLATT, Major-General Bengal Staff Corps, born 16 Dec. 1817, died 20 Dec. 1889.
1563. Geraldine ROWLATT [wife of no. 1462] died 1 Dec. 1913, aged 77.
1464. Elizabeth Geraldine ROWLATT, daughter of the foregoing, died 19 June 1930.
1465. Christian, eldest daughter of Patrick JOHNSON of Tottenham and Stoke Newington, born 22 Oct. 1820, died 4 Feb. 1902 ; also Kathleen Mary,

- youngest daughter of above Patrick Johnson and widow of John GALE of Tirhut and Cheltenham, born 20 January 1832, died 1 July 1902.
1466. Ida LUARD, younger daughter of General P. W. Luard, I.A. died 13 July 1934, aged 76.
1467. James Molesworth CANDY, Lt.-Col. late I.A., died 3 Sept. 1931, aged 79.
1468. Ogilvy TEMPLE, of Kooshtea, Bengal, died 18 May 1865, aged 33.
1469. Caroline, wife of Edmund TALBOT, late Captain I.A., died Southborough, 25 Oct. 1866, aged 43.
1470. Diana Felicité, eldest daughter of General Sir John Hunter Littler, G.C.B., H.E.I.C.S.; died 25 January 1856, aged 25.
1471. Louisa Ann, Dowager Lady Colebrooke, wife of James Bremridge (?) Esqre. and relict of the late Sir James Edward Colebrooke, Bart., died Horsham, 29 May 1868 (?), aged 77.
1472. Thos. Cockburn COLEBROOKE, died 3 July 1863, aged 68.
1473. Eliza, widow of the late Major Gavin YOUNG, Judge Advocate General of the Bengal Army; born 20 Sept. 1795, died 2 Oct. 1844.
1474. Matilda, 5th daughter of George 1st Lord HARRIS; born Madras, 13 July 1797, died 18 January 1847. Also Hon. Phoebe Frances Harris, 3rd daughter of same, died at Southborough, 18 Oct. 1862, aged 75. Also Hon. & Rev. Musgrave Harris, 4th son of same, and "for nearly three years pastor of this "flock", died 16 Aug. 1836, aged 34.
1475. Anne Gordon WHITE, wife of James Thos. White Esqre. of Colombo, Ceylon, died Tunbridge Wells, 22 Dec. 1867, aged 36 years 8 months.
1476. James Thos. WHITE husband of above, born 31 Oct. 1806, died 8 July 1890.
1477. Henry Thos. Van Heythuysen, Major H. E. I. C. S., died 18 May 1882, aged 90. Also Revd. John Benjamin McCrea, M.A., late of Dublin and St. James's Plumstead, died 25 April. 1886, aged 86; and his wife Selina Charlotte McCrea, died 30 Aug. 1884, aged 74. Also Edith McCrea their daughter, died 14 Aug. 1913, aged 47.
1478. Jeanie Elizabeth CHETWYND, wife of Francis Culling Chetwynd, Madras C.S., and youngest daughter of the late Major FRANCKLYN, H. E.I.C.S., died 19 January 1869, aged 29. Also her 2nd son, Eardley Culling Carr Chetwynd, R.N., Lieutenant of H.M.S. St. George, died at Simonstown, Cape of Good Hope. 10 Dec. 1896, aged 35.
Old cemetery, Tunbridge Wells, Kent.
1479. Charlotte SMOULT, widow of the late William Smoult Esq. of Newcastle, Northumberland; died Tunbridge Wells, 25 Sept. 1856, aged 92; also Anna Maria her daughter, widow of John Monckton COOMBS, late Lieut.-Col. Madras Army, died 20 February 1877, aged 82.
1480. John Sims FRESHFIELD, Lieut.-Col. 1st Madras Cavalry, born 4 Apr. 1811, died 24 February 1863; also Elizabeth his wife, born 29 Nov. 1811, died 11 May 1883.

1481. Charlotte, wife of Edward HOLLAMBY, born in India 1808 ; died at Tunbridge Wells, 20 Oct. 1868 ; also E. J. Hollamby their son, died 6 June 1887, aged 42 ; also the above Edward Hollamby, died 7 February 1902, aged 76, interred in Eastbourne cemetery.
- New Hawkenbury cemetery, Tunbridge Wells, Kent.*
1482. Frederic Hedley VYSE, 3rd son of Major C. F. Vyse, I.A., born 30 Apr. 1880 ; died 17 Sept. 1909 ; also Alice Mary, widow of Major C. F. Vyse, died 17 July 1914, aged 61.
1483. Emily, widow of Major-General H.A. Taylor, Bengal Staff Corps ; died 29 May 1916. Erected by her children.
1484. Ellen STONE 4th daughter of the late Charles Stone, C. E., of Lahore, India ; died 17 Aug. 1910 ; also Amy Gertrude Stone, his youngest daughter. Also Clara Ann Stone, his daughter ; died 29 Oct. 1928.
1485. Eliza Emilie, wife of Col. D. T. Hatchell, Indian Staff Corps ; died 16 June 1906, aged 67. Also David Thompson HATCHELL, her husband, 2nd son of the late Christopher Hore Hatchell, of Killeelan, co. Wexford, (Captain 76th Foot) and Editha his wife ; born 2 Apr. 1839, died 6 Nov. 1926. (See no. 1440).
1486. Ninian LOWIS, Lieut.-Col. Bengal Staff Corps, died 19 January 1914, aged 75.
1487. Charles Francis MOORE, Colonel Madras Army ; born 4 August 1837 ; died 18 Nov. 1912.
1488. Assistant Commissary General E. DUNN, Lieutenant-Colonel, of "Red-leaf", Tunbridge Wells ; died on All Saints Day, 1907 ; also his son Capt. Robin Gaspar Dunn, 1/5th Lincoln Regt., killed by an aeroplane 18 March 1919, aged 31. (Also other children of A. C. G. Dunn).
1489. Eva Gertrude, wife of Major A. F. HAMILTON, M.C., I.A. ; died 19 May 1918.
1490. Evelyn Stuart BIRDWOOD, wife of Colonel W. S. Birdwood, I.A. ; died 14 Dec. 1910, aged 46 ; also Gladys Brodrick, wife of Cecil H. BRADBURY, P.W.D., India ; died at Bangalore, 10 Oct. 1918, aged 26. Also George Brodrick, Lieut. Royal Sussex Regt., died at Rawalpindi, 22 Nov. 1910, aged 22 ; and Gordon Brodrick, 2nd Lieut. South Lancs. Regt., killed in action at Vailly, France, 20 Dec. 1914, aged 18 ; sons of Evelyn and W. S. Birdwood. Also Captain Christopher William Birdwood, 6th Gurkha Rifles, I.A., died of wounds in Gallipoli, 7 June 1915, aged 33.
1491. Margaret Ellen PARKER, widow of William James Parker, Brevet Captain 1st European Bengal Fusiliers, died 24 Nov., 1910, aged 87.
1492. Caroline Ellen, wife of J. Mitchell EVANS, Captain Bengal Staff Corps, died 2 March 1893. Capt. John Mitchell Evans, born 4 Oct. 1825 ; died 28 January 1909.
1493. Captain A. L. B. Hughes, who died in India, 23 Dec. 1894, aged 38 ; and Arthur Laurance child of above . . . (illegible).

1494. Diana Giffard Hastings, died 3 Sept. 1892, aged 55 ; and Hugh WARREN HASTINGS, M.D., died 29 Sept. 1892, aged 72.
1495. Sarah Graham CROSTHWAITE, daughter of Sir Charles Crosthwaite, K.C.S.I., and of Sarah his first wife ; born Nainital, 2 June 1872, died 8 Sept. 1892.
1496. Jessie daughter of late David NISBETT, Esq., Surgeon H.E.I.C.S., died at Tunbridge Wells, 14 January 1889 ; also Archibald her brother, died 11 Oct. 1902, interred at Barnsley. Also their sister Ellen Euphemia, died 21 January 1904, interred at Barnsley.
1497. Surgeon General Frederick Freeman ALLEN, C.B. and Honorary Physician to the Queen, late of the Bengal Army ; retired 1880 ; died at Tunbridge Wells, 29 Dec. 1888, aged 61. He was the youngest son of Charles Allen Esq. late of Earl Shilton, Leicestershire. (Other Allen graves).
- Holy Trinity Church, Tunbridge Wells, Kent.*
1498. Maria, daughter of late Charles & Ann WILSON ; born at Colaba, Bombay, 9 October 1831 ; died at Tunbridge Wells, 23 October 1843. Ann Harrison WILSON, died 8 October 1871, aged 85.
1499. Lieut.-Col. Owen Phillips, 56th Bengal N.I. ; died 30 July (no year given), aged 57.
1500. Louisa, eldest daughter of Frederick & Louisa ADAMS ; died 13 Feb. 1842, aged 26. Also Emily Sarah, their youngest daughter, died 13 April 1843, aged 14. Also above Frederick ADAMS late H.E.I.C.S. ; died 28 March 1844, aged 69. Also Louisa Adams his wife, died at Exeter, 13 Dec. 1861, aged 71.
1501. Elizabeth MORRIS daughter of James & Mary MORRIS . . . General James Morris E.I.C.S. She died 11 (?) Nov. 1840 aged 82 (?).
1502. James DRUMMOND Esq. Commissary General ; died 8 Oct. 1842, aged 87 ; also Cecilia Archibald (sic) Drummond, his wife, died 12 Oct. 1842 (?).
1503. Charles Alexander RAVENSHAW Bengal C.S. ; died 9 August 1843, aged 23.
1504. (The following are mural tablets).
Maria, wife of James THOMAS Esq. Madras C. S., and 3rd daughter of W. F. Woodgate Esq. ; died at sea 23 May 1834 on her voyage from India to England, aged 30 years and 4 months.
1505. Lieut. Alfred Jennings BRAMLY, 42nd Royal Highlanders, who fell in the attack on Fort Roohea in Oude, 15 April 1858, aged 22.
1506. Frances Cordelia GARRETT, widow of the late Captain Charles Garrett, 9th Bengal Light Cavalry, and wife of William Norris Garrett, Esq., Bengal C.S. ; died 13 May 1859, aged 43. Erected by her only son Charles Bazett Garrett, Bengal C.S.
1507. Erected by John Dodwell Churchill in memory of his nephew Henry Churchill CROPLEY, late of this place, died 13 Nov. 1841, aged 26 ;

buried in the family vault at Bloxham, Oxfordshire. Also his mother sister and brother who died in the East Indies : Mrs. Mary CROPLEY ; died 21 Dec. 1827, aged 45. Cybella Cropley, died 13 Nov. 1831, aged 20. Edward Cropley, died 27 Oct. 1833, aged. 20. John William Cropley, died 25 April 1847, aged 26.

1508. Lieut. Charles NEWTON, 16th Bengal Grenadiers, 4th son of John Newton Esq. of Calverley Park, Tunbridge Wells ; killed at battle of Maharajpur, 29 Dec. 1843, aged 22. Buried the following day at camp of Dunaila, where his brother officers have since erected a monument. *New cemetery, Southborough, Kent.*
1509. Emma Grace BARLEE, widow of John Buckle Barlee, Asst. Commissary General to H. M. Forces, died 6 March 1930, aged 88.
1510. Colonel C. A R. SAGE, 21st Gurkha Rifles, died 10 Feb. 1930, aged 79. *Rusthall Churchyard, Kent.*
1511. Henry Vero S. KEMBALL, late Chief Engineer and Secretary to Government, Bombay ; born 31 Oct. 1858 ; died Rusthall, 25 April 1918.
1512. Major George Brooke FRENCH, M.B., C.M., L.R.C.P., I.M.S. ; died 20 August 1904.
1513. Colonel E. H. E. KAUNTZE ; born 19 Dec. 1836 ; died 26 June 1910. Also Louisa Annie, his wife, born 31 January 1842 ; died 2 June 1904.
1514. Colonel Hervey Morris Stanley CLARKE, Indian Staff Corps, died 27 Oct. 1912, also Harriette his wife, died 10 January 1893, aged 43.

Parish Church, Tonbridge, Kent.
(Mural tablets)

1515. Major John Yardley BRADFORD, H.E.I.C.S., died 8 April 1841.
1516. George Septimus BRADFORD, Lieut. 62nd Bengal N. I. ; youngest son of Major-General Bradford, C.B. ; born 27 August 1832 ; died 18 Sept. 1858 at Allahabad during the Mutiny in India.
1517. Hubert Dalzell Gorham WALTON, son of Hubert Pulteney Walton & Emily Elizabeth Grace his wife ; born 7th died 12th July 1892 at Rindat, Upper Chindwin, Upper Burma.

Cranbrook parish church, Kent.
(Mural tablet)

1518. John SCOTT Esqre. of Osborne in this parish, for 30 years an active magistrate of this county, who departed this life 26 Oct. 1802 in his 60th year, whose remains lie deposited in the south vault of St. James's church, London. Was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Matthew EMPSON Esqre. of Fort St. George in the East Indies, by whom he has left issue one son and one daughter, Benjamin and Frances. Elizabeth relict of the above John Scott died 12 Feb. 1829, aged 85.

MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS AT BHUJ, CUTCH.

The following list has kindly been supplied through Sir Patrick Cadell, late Chief Minister of Junagadh State.

1519. William Mitchell BURNETT, Chaplain of Bhooj, died 31 July 1840, aged 31 years.
1520. Ellen Maria, infant daughter of Ensign DOHERTY, died 13 May 1826, aged 4 months and 2 days.
1521. Revd. T. [Thomas] LAVIE, A.M., Chaplain to this Establishment, died 9 March 1826, aged 27.
1522. Lieut. Charles TORIN, 2nd Regiment of Bombay Cavalry, died in camp near Bhooj on 1 February 1826, aged 24.
1523. Lieut. Richard CARR, 21st Regt. N.I., died 19 Nov. 1825, aged 23.
1524. A. MARTIN, Asst. Surgeon 16th Regt. N.I., died 11 Nov. 1825, aged 27.
1525. Major C. H. LAMY, 16th Regt. N.I., died 23 Aug. 1825, aged 39.
1526. Miss Mary Ann THOMSON, died 14 Aug. 1825, aged 18.
1527. Edwin H. RAMSAY, Ensign 2nd Regt. Bombay N.I., died at Bhuj, 10 Dec. 1826.
1528. James GRAY of Scotland, Chaplain of Bhooj. Tutor to H. H. Rao Desaljee. Died 25 Sept. 1830, aged 60.
1529. Ensign Thomas W. GARDINER, 21st Regt., died 20 April 1825, aged 19.
1530. Major Francis DONNELLY, 1st Bn. 6th Regt. N.I., died 11 Aug. 1822, aged 43.
1531. Lieut. John SMITH, H.M.'s 17th Dragoons, died 20 June 1820, aged 26. [Probably a cornet: his initials were J. B. and his name was possibly James and not John].
1532. Eliza, infant daughter of Capt. Charles PAYNE and his wife Charlotte, 2nd Bn. 8th Regt. N. I., died 6 July 1820, aged 11 months and 1 day.
1533. George James John, son of Lieut.-Col. George MACKONOCHE, died 19 June 1823, aged 2 years 2 months.
1534. Elizabeth, infant daughter of late J. FELLOWS, Barrack Serjeant at Baroda, died 31 May 1825, aged 16 months.
1535. Lieut.-Col. J. J. SMITH, 1st Bn. 3rd Regt. N. I., died 27 Sept. 1823, aged 43.
1536. Henry, infant son of Capt. H. DUNBABIN, 22nd Regt. Bombay N.I., died 23 May 1828, aged 15 months.
1537. Maria, daughter of Capt. R. W. SMITH, 22nd Bombay N.I., of Baroda, died 15 Sept. 1828, aged 3 years.
1538. Mary McDonald, wife of Color Serjt. J. McDONALD, Grenadier Company, 2nd Bombay European Regt., died 12 Nov. 1826, aged 47.
1539. Clement Harold SYKES, born 6 May 1889, died 4 July 1892.
1540. Pray for the souls of our thirty comrades of the 3rd Co. 2nd Battalion Artillery, who died in Cutch, May 1834 to Dec. 1835.
1541. Erected by Brigade Serjt. John O'KEEFE, Bombay Foot Artillery, in memory of his son Patrick John O'Keefe, departed this life 21 Sept. 1828, aged 2 years and 6 months.

1542. William, son of Gr. Dennis CALLAGHAN, died 20 Sept. 1828, aged 4 months.
1543. Sophia Holmes BURNES, died 1 Feb. 1833, aged 3 months.
1544. Gunner Daniel CREED, 2nd Co. Artillery, died 11 Feb [illegible].
1545. Revd. P. MIRANDA, Roman Catholic [Priest], died 11 Nov. 1841, aged 30 years 7 months.
1546. Capt. John DAVIES, 11th Regt. Bombay N.I., died 24 Nov. 1843, aged 42.
1547. Erected by Elizabeth AMBROSE to the memory of her husband Joseph AMBROSE, late Park & Store Serjt. at Bhooj, who died 29 Dec. 1833, aged 41.
1548. Bryan CLANC[Y], Bombardier Coy. 2nd Bn. Artillery. Died 12 March 183. . . aged 29.
1549. Elizabeth NORRIS, died 2 May 1827, aged 29. Erected by Serjt. George Sothern, Bombay Foot Artillery.
1550. DAVID PATTISON of Ireland, Bombardier, Bombay Artillery, died 4 May 1834, aged 29.
1551. William R. DEACON, Esq., Civil Surgeon in Kutch, died at Bhooj 10 Sept. 1839, aged 33. "This tomb is erected by His Highness Rao Daisuljee of Kutch as a token of his regard and esteem for the deceased".
1552. GERTRUDE EMMA, infant daughter of Lieut.-Col. SOPPITT, 20th Regt., died 14 May 1840, aged 6 months & 1 day.
1553. HENRY WYNT COTTERILL, Sub-Conductor Ordnance Dept., died 17 August 1832, aged 30. Tomb erected by Capt. M. C. Decluzeau.
1554. RONALD GREENWOOD GILLMOR, twin son (the younger) of Capt. J. G. Gillmor, H.M.'s Bombay Staff Corps (adjt. 20th Regt. N.I.) and Clari his wife, died 8 July [1872] aged 1 year & 7 months.
1555. HORACE ARTHUR, infant son of John Cornish and Anne TRESTRAIL, died 11 Sept. 1864, aged 9 months 23 days.
1556. HERBERT BROOK, infant son of Lieut.-Col. Mossom BOYD, Bombay Staff Corps, died at Bhooj.
1557. WILLIAM NORMAN THOMSON, Lieut. Indian Staff Corps, died at Bhooj 15 Sept. 1903, aged 21.
1558. WILLIAM PHILLIPS, chief engineer to H. H. the Rao of Cutch, died 9 January 1875, aged 46.
1559. EMILY MARIA, wife of Lieut. DACRES THOMAS, 7th Aegt. N. I., died at Bhooj 17 Sept. 1879, aged 24.
1560. Capt. WILLIAM FERGUSON, H.M.'s 1st Grenadier Regt. N.I., died 3 January 1862, aged 37. Erected by his brother officers.
1561. LESTOCK ST. JOHN BELL, Lieut. H.M.'s 1st Grenadier Regt. N.I., born 16 January 1841, died 8 July 1861, aged 20½ years. Erected by his brother officers.

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1562. ERNEST HELME, Lieut. 8th (King's Royal Irish) Hussars, killed by the accidental discharge of his gun at Bhuj, 4 Feb. 1858, aged 18.
1563. Lieut.-Col. R. BULKELY, 2nd Grenadier Regt. N.I., commanding in Cutch, died at Bhooj 26 Oct [1850] aged 49. Erected by the officers of the regt.
1564. EDWARD JAMES WALLACE, assistant surgeon ; born 1 May 1817, died 29 Aug. 1846.
1567. Ensign WALTER SOAMES, 16th Regt. N.I., died 15 [? 25] May 1845, aged 20 years & 2 months. Erected by his brother officers.
1568. Ensign JOHN GEORGE CORFIELD, 16th Regt. Bombay N.I., died at Bhooj 28 July 1846, aged 17. Erected by his brother officers in conjunction with his relations.
1569. HARRIETTE, wife of Lieut. J. W. S. BURNS, 10th Regt. N.I., died 24 Oct [year not stated] aged 22.
1570. RICHARD THOMAS, infant son of Lieut. GOODWIN, 16th Regt. Bombay N.I., died 1 Aug. 1846, aged 11 months.
1571. Lieut. & Brevet Capt. J. R. HIBBERT, 2nd Bombay European Lt. Infantry, died at Jorria, Kattiawar, 1 June 1843, aged 36. Erected by his widow.
1572. Mary ISABELLA SANDERSON, wife of Major W. H. GODFREY, 17 Regt. N.I., died 16 May 1857.
1573. JANE, infant daughter of Lieut. CHAS. HARVEY, 2nd European Lt. Infry., died 5 January 1844, aged 5½ months.
1574. BENJAMIN ARTHUR, son of BENJAMIN ADAMS, Serjt. 8th Regt., died 14 Feb. 1851, aged 3 years.
1575. PAULINA & LEONORA, children of James & Honora HENKEL [bandmaster 11th Regt. N.I.], died 6th Jan. 1878, aged 8 years, and 26 July 1878, aged 18 months.
1576. HENRY LAURANCE, son of J. & ANN D'ESPERANCE, of the Bhuj School of Art, died 20 March 1887, aged 3½ years.
1577. PASCHAL JOHN FIGUEREDO, military senior sub-assistant surgeon, born 28 Oct. 1864, died at Cutch 11 Aug. 1914. Erected by his friends and admirers in Cutch.
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William Jackson, Registrar of the Supreme Court, 1777-1807.

IN the Editor's Note Book of a recent issue (Vol. XLIX, p. 146) mention was made of William Jackson, the Company's Attorney, who died at Calcutta on August 24, 1807, at the age of 58. By the courtesy of Major-General Sir Louis Jackson, K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., late Royal Engineers (who is himself a great-grandson of the subject of our note), we are enabled to give further particulars regarding this versatile lawyer and his family.

William Jackson was a son (probably the third) of John Jackson, of Chancery Lane and of Eltham, by his wife Elizabeth Lloyd, the daughter of Colonel Verney Lloyd, who was one of Marlborough's officers. Col. Lloyd was the grandson of Sir Edmund Verney (1590-1642), Standard Bearer to Charles I, who fell at Edgehill (*D.N.B.*). John's eldest son was the Rev. Dr. Thomas Jackson (1745-1797), Chaplain to George III and Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's, who, together with his sons, Francis James and George, both in the diplomatic service, also finds a place in the *D.N.B.* The youngest son was Verney Jackson who matriculated at Emmanuel Coll., Cambridge, on July 8, 1779, aged 19. The following year he obtained a Cadetship for Bengal, was promoted Lieutenant on August 26, 1781, and died at Buxar on Feb. 18, 1784.

William Jackson also commenced his career as an officer on the Bengal Establishment, being appointed a Cadet of the season 1770. His commission as Ensign is dated Dec. 27, 1772; but after serving for two-and-a-half years in that rank he resigned the Service on June 2, 1775. Six days later he was admitted an Attorney of the Supreme Court, and he held the appointment of Registrar for more than thirty years.

His wife, Margaret Stewart or Steuart, whom he married at Calcutta on Nov. 7, 1776, is said, according to family tradition—and there would appear to be good grounds* for the supposition—to have been a daughter of Sir John Stewart or Steuart, 3rd Bart. of Allanbank, co. Berwick (1). By her he had issue five daughters and seven sons:—

- (i) Elizabeth Amelia; bapt. Calcutta Feb. 10, 1778; m. Calcutta May 4, 1796, Alexander Binny (1758-1833), sometime a Lieut. on the

(1) See G. E. C.'s *Complete Baronetage*, Vol. iv, p. 353—"Steuart or Stewart, of Allanbank, co. Berwick, 15 Aug. 1687; dormant 29 Jan. 1849." "William Jackson has entered his wife's name in his family Bible as Steuart; it appears as Stewart in the Register. (*B. : P. P.* Vol. IV, p. 502.)

- Bengal Est., afterwards in business in Calcutta. She d. July 17, 1813, leaving issue, partners in the House of Binny & Co., Madras.
- (ii) Maria ; bapt. Sept. 1, 1779 ; m. Apr. 26, 1802, James Colvin, Calcutta merchant, by whom she became the mother of John Russell Colvin, Lt.-Govr. of the N. W. P. from Nov. 7, 1853. The latter, as is well known, was father of Sir Auckland Colvin, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., C.I.E. (1838-1908).
- (iii) Frances Jane ; bapt. Calcutta Oct. 24, 1780.
- (iv) Harriet ; bapt. Calcutta July 2, 1782. She m. James Hare, M.D., Surgeon on the Bengal Est. (2). They had issue :—
 Steuart Bayley Hare (1809-1879), of Calderhall and Handax-wood, J.P. and D.L., sometime a Lieutenant in the Bengal Engineers.
- (v) Matilda b. 1789 ; m. Alexander Colvin.
- (i) John Stewart Jackson ; bapt. Calcutta Sept. 13, 1783 ; buried there Mar. 13, 1784.
- (ii) William Hill Jackson ; bapt. Calcutta Feb. 5, 1785 ; d. Cawnpore Mar. 4, 1813 ; Capt. Lieut. 24th Bengal N. I. He m. in England, July 23, 1810, Albinia, 3rd dau. of Rev. Sydenham Teast Wylde, Rector of Ubley, Somerset. She was drowned in the wreck of the *Elizabeth* off Dunkirk, Dec. 27, 1810, on the voyage out to India with her husband (3).
- (iii) Thomas Charles Jackson ; bapt. Calcutta July 22, 1786 ; killed in action by a pike thrust at Langa, Malacca, June 12, 1815 ; Lieut. 1st Bengal N.I.
- (iv) Henry George Jackson ; bapt. Calcutta Aug. 11, 1787 ; d. Warley, Essex, Sept. 4, 1849 ; Lt.-Col. Royal Artillery. He did most of his foreign service in Canada and commanded the R. A. (being a section of his battery) at Chrystler's Farm, and though only a 2nd Captain at the time was awarded the gold medal. He married and had issue :—
 Sir Louis Steuart Jackson, Kt., C.I.E., etc. (1824-1890) ; Bengal C.S. ; Puisne Judge of the Calcutta High Court, 1862-80. (*D.I.B.*) He has issue :—
 Sir Louis Jackson, K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G. ; Major General Royal Engineers ; b. 7 Mar. 1856.
- (v) James Nesbitt Jackson ; b. Calcutta Aug. 16, 1788 ; d. there June 8, 1832 ; Major, C.B., 45th Bengal N.I. ; D.Q.M.G., Bengal. He m. 1stly, at Cawnpore, Feb. 26, 1811, Augusta Katharine, dau. of Colonel Wade, 25th Light Dragoons. She d. Calcutta Apr. 5, 1831. He m. 2ndly, at Calcutta, Apr. 10, 1832, Mary Nicolson,

(2) Col. Crawford's *Roll of the I.M.S.*, No. Bengal. 384.

(3) For a long account of the shipwreck and the Jacksons see chapter xiii of *A Master Mariner: the Life of Captain R. W. Eastwick*, edited by Herbert Compton, 1891.

2nd dau. of Rev. Patrick Nicolson of Shebster, minister of Thurso 1785-1805. She d. s. p. Jan. 13, 1870. He had issue by his first wife :—

- (1) Henry Colvin Jackson ; b. Calcutta May 26, 1812 ; d. Hyderabad Apr. 9, 1842 ; Lieut. 45th Bengal N. I. and Captain in the Nizam's army. He m. at Secunderabad, Nov. 20, 1838, Lucie, 2nd dau. of Maj.-Gen. Henry Webber, of the Madras Est., and widow of Lieut. Robert Thorpe Onslow, 7th Madras Light Cavalry.
- (2) William Bayley Jackson ; bapt. Calcutta July 19, 1817 ; Captain 31st Madras L.I. ; retired as Hon. Major Aug. 29, 1860.
- (3) Charles Alexander Jackson ; b. Calcutta Jan. 6, 1819 ; d. in London Mar. 12, 1846 ; Lieut. 31st Bengal N.I.
- (vi) Edward Jackson ; bapt. Calcutta Jan. 8, 1794 ; d. Arcot May 31, 1814 ; Cornet (unposted) Madras Native Cavalry.
- (vii) Alexander Russell Jackson ; b. Aug. 6, 1798 ; d. at Warley barracks July 28, 1855. M.D., Edin., 1819 ; M.R.C.S. 1820. Surgeon on the Bengal Est. ; afterwards Surgeon at the Company's Depot at Warley (4). He married Margaret Pattenson and left four sons, of whom :—

- (1) Alexander James Jackson (1828-1863), B.C.S. He m. 1853, Charlotte Emily Norman, sister of F.M. Sir H.W. Norman, G.C.B.
- (3) Stuart Hare Jackson (1837-1857), Lieut. 2nd European Bengal Fus., killed at the siege of Delhi in June 1857.
- (4) Christison Syme Jackson (1839-1903), Captain Bengal Artillery, afterwards R.A.

It is of interest to note that Maj.-General Sir Louis Jackson's son, Colonel Cecil Jackson, C.B.E., recently C.R.E. in Waxiristan, still carries on the tradition of the family in the fifth generation.

V. C. P. H.

Clive's Quarrel with the Dutch in 1759.

A WRITER in the *Times Literary Supplement* recently expressed the opinion that the year 1759 was notable for the number of Naval and Military successes achieved by British forces as well as for the wide area in which they were engaged. He referred to Minden, Quebec, Lagos, and Quiberon, and associated with these, "Hearts of Oak," "the best song in the language" which was written and composed during that year by David Garrick and Dr. Boyce.

Outside of Naval successes in single-ship engagements, the list of enterprises in which both services were employed is remarkable.

February 13	Fort Louis was stormed.
March 4	A force of 850 European and 1200 Sepoys under command of Captain Maitland of the Artillery, forced Moya and Deen, commanding a large garrison of Sidis in Surat, after a month of hard fighting, to surrender.
April 7	Colonel Forde, running short of ammunition decided to attack the French under General de Conflans during the night and effected the capture of Masulipatam.
April 16	Major Brereton with English and Indian troops drove the French out of the Pagodas of Conjeeveram.
May 1	Brigadier General Clavering captured the Island of Guadelope.
July 4	Surrender of Fort Ticonderago.
August 1	Six regiments of English infantry supported by two of Hanoverian Guards attacked the French centre at the Battle of Minden consisting of sixty squadrons of cavalry. The French were defeated with a loss of 7000 killed, wounded and prisoners. The British lost 1200.
August 18 & 19	Vice Admiral Boscawen defeated the French admiral De la Clue in Lagos Bay.
September 13	Major General Wolfe attacked General Montcalm and drove the French out of Quebec. Wolfe, and Montcalm, with the French 2nd and 3rd in command were all mortally wounded.

- November 25 Brigadier Forbes compelled the French to evacuate Fort du Quesne, and changed the name to Pittsburg (U. S. A.)
- November 29 Colonel Eyre Coote forced the French to surrender Wandewash.

Every English schoolboy knows the story of Francis Drake finishing his game of bowls before going out to fight the Spanish Armada. The story may be true but it is a bit of pleasing reading. The late Emperor of Germany denies the "Scrap of Paper" story about his attack on Belgium but there seems every probability that the order given by Clive which led to the capture of Chinsurah actually happened as stated.

A series of four letters in the London Magazine for 1762 bearing on this incident and pleading justification for Clive's action have been discovered. But it may first be worth while to relate the incidents which led up to this quarrel with the Dutch.

In 1759 serious difficulties confronted the English in Bengal. They had hardly recovered from the destruction of Calcutta when, in August, a Dutch ship filled with troops arrived in the Hooghly and anchored at Fultah, some 25 miles below Calcutta. Two months later six more Dutch vessels dropped anchor nearby. They carried 700 European and 800 Malay troops, to reinforce the garrison at Chinsurah.

Clive induced Meer Jaffier to issue orders for the immediate departure of the Dutch ships but the orders were ignored. Correspondence between the English and Dutch led to the seizure of some English vessels.

Dutch troops were then landed at Fultah who hauled down the British flag. Although the two countries were at peace, this action led to an attack on the Dutch squadron.

On November 19, Colonel Forde, who had arrived from Masulipatam marched out of Calcutta and formally took possession of Baranagore. He then crossed the river marching towards Chandernagore with the object of preventing the Dutch troops landing. This he apparently failed to effect for they were landed at "Sankeval" Reach and the ships dropped down the river to Melancholy Point. There they were attacked by three British warships and after two hours' fighting the Dutch surrendered.

The story about the capture of Chinsurah is this. The day before the fighting Colonel Forde, hesitating to attack, sent a messenger to Clive asking for instructions.

Clive was playing whist when the note reached him. Without leaving the table, he scribbled on one of the cards, "Dear Forde,—Fight them immediately. I will send you the order in Council tomorrow" and resumed the game with a fresh pack.

The 'war' did not last long. In the course of a few days a treaty was signed. The Dutch agreed to pay £100,000 for damages on condition that their ships and prisoners were released, but, as the correspondence shows, although they had had enough they were not satisfied.

LONDON MAGAZINE FOR JANUARY, 1762.

ABSTRACT of the *Authentick Account of the Proceedings of the States of HOLLAND and West-Friesland, on the Complaint laid before them by SIR JOSEPH YORKE, concerning Hostilities committed in the River BENGAL.*

THE first paper given us in this account, is an extract from the Resolution of the States, of the 18th of March, 1761, relative to the memorial presented by Mr. Yorke ; but contains nothing more than the communications of a letter from the Dutch East-India Company, written in consequence of the said memorial, with the report of the committee thereon, and the resolution of the states to lay a copy of this report, &c. before the members of the assembly. This is followed by Mr. Yorke's own memorial, wherein he complains, in very spirited terms, of the hostilities committed by the servants of the Dutch East-India company ; and, in the name of his master, demands satisfaction. To this is annexed an extract of a letter from the president and council of Bengal, to the court of directors of the English East-India company, wherein we are informed, that about the beginning of August, 1759, advice being received of a powerful armament equipping at Batavia, which common fame gave out was intended against Bengal ; the governor thereon prevailed with the Nizam, to send peremptory orders to Chinsura, forbidding the admission of any troops or vessels into the country ; and the Nizam, on the other hand, required Colonel Clive to join him, agreeable to treaty, with his forces.

In the mean time a Dutch vessel, with troops on board, arrived in the river ; information of which being sent by the governor to the Nizam ; the latter is greatly perplexed, but sends a second purwanah to the Dutch, forbidding them to land, and at the same time orders one of his officers to join our governor with a body of troops again, demanding assistance himself from us. In answer to the Nizam's first message, the Dutch make a solemn promise of obeying his orders ; and to the second, repeat the same solemn assurances, adding, that the vessel just arrived was driven there by stress of weather and want of provisions.

To guard, however, against all surprises, a body of troops is collected and joined to the suba's ; after which, such other precautions are taken as enable them to stop and examine all Dutch vessels on board one of which are found concealed eighteen buggages, who are taken, but afterwards dismissed.

Remonstrances pass, in consequence of these proceedings, between the two companies ; but in the beginning of October following, advice comes, that six or seven more Dutch vessels, full of European soldiers, are arrived, and that the Dutch are enlisting men in all their settlements.

Preparations are made to receive them ; and the Dutch, now thinking themselves in a condition to act, present fresh remonstrances, to which a resolute reply being given on our part, they begin hostilities both by water and land.

Governor Clive acquaints the Nizam herewith, and demands his assistance. Other proper dispositions are made ; and Col. Forde arriving about this time, takes upon him the command of the troops that remain in garrison, with which he marches to the northward, on the 19th of December, and seizes Baranagore.

On the 2nd of December the Dutch land, and the demand for restitution for the captures made by them, on our company being refused, on the 24th we attack their vessels, and notwithstanding their prodigious superiority, defeat and take them all. On the same day Col. Forde is attacked in his march by a party of Dutch forces, whom he routs and strips of their cannon.

The day following, the same gentleman being informed, that the troops, which had lately been debarked out of the Dutch vessels were advancing, he goes to meet them, and, coming up with them in the plain of Bederra, a battle ensues, which terminates greatly to our advantage. These repeated successes having humbled the Dutch, they sue for a cessation of hostilities, which, being granted, matters are compromised, on their owning themselves the aggressors, and agreeing to pay the costs.

Such is the substance of the extract annexed to Mr. Yorke's memorial, which the states having deliberated upon, they agree to transfer a copy of it to the directors of the East-India company ; but as a provisional answer to it, add their surprise at any complaints of hostilities committed on the subjects of his Britannick majesty, and disown all knowledge of them, with the like avowal for the directors of the East-India company.

The next paper we are presented with, is an extract of their high mightinesses resolution, as put into the hands of Mr. Yorke, by their agent Van Byemont. In this extract, our charge against the Dutch company's servants is repeated, denied and opposed by a complaint of grievances on their part, and an assertion that the troops and ships, which had passed up the river Bengal, had been sent there for the security of their own settlements, which had suffered greatly in the course of the war, from the mutual depredations of the French and English. To this they add that their own company's interest had suffered greatly from the affection shewn them to the English, and more particularly by their refusal of marching, according to treaty to the assistance of the Nabob Serray Ubdoula, in the year 1756, on a dispute which arose between him and the president and council of Fort William ; in consequence of which refusal, they were obliged, on the reduction of Calcutta, to pay the said Nabob upwards of eight tons of gold ; that the English, that, when they (the Dutch) would have sent their troops up the river Bengal, with no other view than the security of their settlements, the English sent them positive word, that they should not come up ; and that none of their servants had been guilty of any acts of violence before, though they had repeatedly suffered the most injurious oppressions from the English, who on this, as well as all other occasions, were the real aggressors.

In this extract is given a large detail of the several grievances complained of by them ; and to the whole is annexed, by way of appendix, a collection of letters, and other proper vouchers, referred to in the said extract, (See our Vol. for 1760, p. 370, 525).

THE LONDON MAGAZINE FOR FEBRUARY, 1762.

To the AUTHOR of the LONDON MAGAZINE,

SIR,

I HAVE just cast an eye over the memorial presented to the states general of the United Provinces by the Dutch East India company, in answer to the memorial presented to their high mightinesses by general Yorke, our minister at the Hague, complaining of hostilities committed by that company in the East-Indies ; and even from a cursory perusal I can perceive, that this answer is crammed full of falsehoods and misrepresentations. These, I make no doubt, will soon be exposed to publick view ; but as I neither have time, nor am I fully enough instructed for that purpose, the few remarks I am to make, shall be founded entirely upon what they themselves set forth ; because from thence, I think, it will evidently appear, that the managers of the Dutch affairs in Batavia and Bengal, had resolved to pick a quarrel with Jaffier Aly Khan, the nizam, or vice-roy of Bengal, &c. and to attack him openly, as soon as they had introduced a sufficient number of troops into that country ; and their sole reason for this resolution was, because he had been established in that viceroyalty by our means, and appeared to be grateful for the favor we had done him ; consequently, we had cause to be jealous of their designs, and a right to prevent their execution, if it was in our power.

For proof of this, I must enquire a little into the former and present state of the mogul empire. That empire was divided into several provinces, over each of which the emperor appointed a vice-roy, who was obliged to pay such an annual tribute as he was pleased to impose, and, in time of war, to attend him with such a body of troops as he was pleased to order. Over this vice-roy the emperor had an absolute power ; He might remove him, and appoint another, whenever he had a mind ; but when the vice-roy died, the emperor had the sole power of appointing a successor.

Every province again was divided into a number of districts or inferior jurisdictions, which I shall call countries, and over each country, the vice-roy appointed a nabob or polygar, which I shall call lieutenant, over whom the vice-roy had the same power that the emperor had over him ; with this only difference, that if any lieutenant thought himself oppressed or injured by the vice-roy, he complained to the imperial court, and if his complaint was there found to be just, that is to say, if he bribed higher, or placed his bribes better than the vice-roy did, he met with redress, or the vice-roy was removed, and perhaps put to death.

This was the nature of the mogul government, whilst it preserved any vigour ; and whilst it did so, none of the European trading companies settled in that empire, pretended to intermeddle openly, and much less by force of arms, in the affairs of that government. They had each purchased a phirmaund or charter from the mogul emperor, by which they had a grant of a certain

extent of ground or territory, to be under their sole jurisdiction, and of certain privileges with regard to trade, with leave to build a fort, and to keep a garrison in that fort ; but were neither to enlarge their fort, nor to increase their garrison, without leave from the imperial court ; and if their jurisdiction was incroached upon, or their privileges violated by the vice-roy of the province wherein their fort was situated, they complained to the imperial court, where, as their complaint was always attended with proper presents, they generally met with redress, whilst that court preserved its power over the several provinces of the empire. But as the will of the sovereign is the only law in that empire, these trading companies, upon the death or change of an emperor, or even of a prime minister, were often obliged to purchase a continuance and confirmation of their possessions and privileges, which never rose to a very high price, but when two different companies were bribing against one another ; for even the native subjects of that empire have no legal property, not even in the treasure or jewels, much less in the lands or houses they possess ; therefore they conceal the former as much, and improve the latter as little, as they can : Only the merchants are by custom allowed to possess, and even to enjoy, what they acquire by trade ; for even these senseless tyrants are sensible of the advantages of trade, and never plunder the merchants, but when reduced to the greatest necessity.

This, I say, was the nature of the moghul government, whilst it had any vigour, and preserved a due influence over its respective provinces ; but, by vesting two or three provinces in one man, and the weakness of their emperors, it has lost much of that influence, even before Kauli Khan's invasion : Since that time it has entirely lost its vigour : Most of the vice-roys, especially of the provinces towards the south, are become in effect, independent : They neither pay any tribute, nor obey the orders of the moghul emperor, but when they think it convenient : They not only hold the vicerealty during life, but appoint their own successor ; and if another vice-roy should be appointed by the emperor, it signifies nothing, unless the person so appointed can make good his pretensions by the sword : Also, if any lieutenant or great man at the vice-roy's court, thinks that he has a greater influence among the people than the vice-roy himself, he rebels, declares himself independent, or perhaps dethrones the vice-roy, and sets himself up in his room without so much as asking leave of the imperial court ; from whence the country is become an almost continual scene of plots, conspiracies, civil war, bloodshed, and robbery ; Such is the consequence of abolishing all principles of true religion and publick spirit in any country !

In this state of things, we may believe, that no charter, order, or decree of the imperial court can signify anything, nor can a complaint to that court against the independent vice-roy, in possession, be of any avail. For this reason, those presents that were formerly made by the European trading companies to the imperial court, for a continuance and confirmation of their possessions and privileges are now made to the vizir of the provinces and his favourite ministers ; and as the vice-roy now acts without controll, it is of great consequence to every one of the great trading companies, to have a

vice-roy established, who is inclined to favour their interest, more than that of any other trading company.

In former times, one of the trading companies, by the secret influence of its money at the imperial court, might perhaps have contributed towards getting a man advanced, or towards preventing his being advanced, to the vice-royalty of the province ; though none of them ever give themselves much trouble, or put themselves to any great expense on this account ; because while they preserve their interest at court they could not suffer much by the partiality or injustice of the vice-roy : And as to the assistance of any one of the companies, by force of arms, it could then be of every little weight, and indeed it was never wanted for establishing the vice-roy named by the court ; as no one durst then ever venture to oppose his establishment. But now a days, by the imbecility of the mogul government, and the frequent civil wars that happen between rivals for a vacant viceroyalty, between two independent vice-roys, or between an established vice-roy and his rebellious subjects, the open and warlike assistance of the English, Dutch, or French East-India companies comes to be of great weight in the scale ; and the concern that each of them must have for the success of its friend, has made them begin to intermeddle in the affairs of the government within the mogul empire, and will, I fear, continue to make them intermeddle more than may be consistent with the peace and tranquillity of Europe.

As the French, by their very nature, are always endeavouring to inroach, and to usurp power, wherever they are admitted ; Even a French servant, when admitted into a family in this country, is, we know, always endeavouring to assume a power over his fellow servants ; and if the master be so weak as to admit and be pleased with the most gross and barefaced flattery, or what the women call, civil things, as English servants have more sincerity and less impudence, Monsieur soon gets the sole direction of the family ; Just so do Frenchmen of all ranks behave, and in all countries ! In the mogul empire they were the first that began to intermeddle in the affairs of government : Upon the coast of Coromandel, they attempted, and would, by force of arms, have established a nabob of their own chusing in the province or country of Arcot, had they not been opposed by our East-India company. In Bengal, they went another way to work : They saw, they could not there increase their power, or inroach upon their neighbours, by open force ; therefore, by flattery they got the direction of the young and vain vice-roy of that province, and as soon as they had done this, they set him upon committing those cruelties against our people, which every one with horror has heard of.

How did the Dutch behave upon these occasions, and in these countries ? It is true, they gave a civil reception to such of our people as were obliged to take refuge among them : They will do so to every one, Jew, Turk, Pagan, or Christian, that is able and willing to pay them generously for their civility, which they know the English always do. But notwithstanding their defensive alliance between our two nations, and notwithstanding our having been treacherously attacked by the French upon the coast of Coromandel, and cruelly attacked, by their influence, in Bengal, the Dutch gave us no assistance.

On the contrary, upon the Coromandel coast, in the present war, they have underhand given as much assistance to the French, as they could do without coming to an open breach with us: They do not pretend to deny their supplying the French army with provisions, whilst it was employed in the siege of Tanjore: It was evident that they connived at the French taking possession of their fort at Sadrass, in order to make it a magazine for supporting their army during the siege of Madrass; and we had great reason to suspect, that the rich Dutch ship, the *Harlem*, seized by the French, and the treasure found in her, as well as the ship herself, employed in carrying on the siege of Madrass, was sent out by the Dutch on purpose to be seized by the French.

We had therefore great reason to be jealous of the conduct of the Dutch in Bengal, and our reasons for jealousy were increased by the gratitude of Jaffier Aly Khan, who had by our means been exalted to the vice-royalty, and his country delivered from a most cruel tyrant. His granting us an exclusive privilege in the saltpetre trade, and a preference as to the purchase of all the manufactures of his country, (supposing both the facts to be true) was but gratitude in him, and it would have been ridiculous in us to have refused the favour. If we had made it an article in our treaty with him, no European nation could have complained of it, and the Dutch less than any other; for they assume a general exclusive privilege of trade in all the Indian islands, where they can acquire it, either by favour, or by the terror of their arms: In most places stipulate it by treaty, and preserve it by power; neither of which we were so modest as to attempt in Bengal. We accepted it as a favour, but we were too well acquainted with the Dutch, not to suspect, that the vice-roy's granting it would make them resolve to get him dethroned if possible, and that they would join with the French for that purpose.

Thus I have shewn, that we had great reason to be jealous of the conduct of the Dutch in Bengal, and that they were endeavouring to pick a quarrel with Jaffier Aly Khan is evident from their own shewing: They say, that they demanded from him re-payment of what had been extorted from them by the tyrannical dethroned vice-roy: Was there ever a more unjust demand? If he had succeeded to the dethroned vice-roy, either as heir or grantee, or if he had received any of the effects of the dethroned vice-roy, there might have been some ground for the demand. But he had not succeeded either as heir or grantee, nor had he received any of his effects; for all the money found in his treasury was not sufficient to pay what he had robbed us of, in the most cruel manner; and the money or goods of others found in possession of a robber, is surely to be restored to the proprietor, rather than to be applied to the payment of any of his debts. But the Dutch manner of reasoning upon this head is really curious: They say, we ought to have got them repayment of the money because it was extorted from them on account of their refusing to assist in robbing us. My friend and I travelling together, are met by a highwayman who demands his assistance to rob me: He, indeed, for fear of punishment, refuses to assist, but looks quietly on, and sees me not only robbed but soundly drubbed. The highwayman then tells him, since you would not assist, you shall give me all the money you

have in your pocket, which he cowardly complies with. What obligation am I under to see his money repaid? It would have been better for me, had he joined ; because he might then have had interest enough to have saved me a drubbing. We were so far from being under any obligation to see this money repaid to the Dutch, that we had great reason to suspect its having been voluntarily lent to the dethroned vice-roy, in order to enable him to support himself against us ; and if there was the least ground for suspecting that this money was lent for supporting such a cruel tyrant, neither Jafeir Aly Khan, nor the people of Bengal, had any reason for being so generous as to repay it.

The Dutch complaint upon this head appears, therefore, to be without the least foundation ; and their other complaints will, upon examination, appear to be equally groundless. As Jafeir has been at a great expense in ridding the country of a tyrannical vice-roy, he had a right to demand a contribution from every one settled in that province, for making good that expence ; and what he demanded of the Dutch was probably no more than their just proportion, as we may judge by their not mentioning the sum. As to their privileges, they do not tell us what they were, or by whom soever granted, as Jafeir owed his advancement to the viceroyalty to none of his predecessors, nor to the moghul emperor, he was not obliged to confirm or continue the Dutch privileges any further than he thought fit, and therefore had a right to grant us both the privilege and preference they complain of.

Thus it must appear, that all the complaint made by the Dutch were groundless ; and as groundless complaints are seldom made without a resolution to quarrel, we had good reason to believe the report, that the great armament at Batavia was intended, not directed against us, but against our ally, the vice-roy of Bengal, whom we were by treaty obliged to defend against all his enemies, but not as the Dutch say, *against all who, in any case whatsoever, shall presume to refuse what the nabob must demand*. How did our people behave upon this occasion? They neither desired nor advised the vice-roy to issue an order, or purwanah, forbidding the admission of any troops : His issuing such an order was entirely his own motion ; and it was what he had a right to do, by the constant practice of the moghul empire. He likewise required us to join his forces, in order to prevent any foreign troops from entering his country ; and we should have been guilty of a breach of faith had we refused it. Could this be called an act of hostility either in us or in the vice-roy? Could our assisting his officers to visit such ships as were suspected of having troops on board, be called an act of hostility? Was it not an act of hostility in the Dutch, to attempt bringing any troops into Bengal, contrary to the vice-roy's order and their own promise : Yet this of visiting their ships, and sending back one or two of them that had troops on board, they call an act of hostility ; and from thence took a pretence to invade Bengal with a little army, and to commit acts of hostility, which they now avow. But all impartial men must see, that they were the first to commit acts of hostility, and from thence will conclude, that they highly deserved the correction they afterwards met with.

As to the other little complaints the Dutch make against the conduct of our people in India, they might every one be easily answered ; but they are so trifling as not to be worth notice, and therefore I shall conclude with assuring you, that I am, Sir,

your assured friend, and humble servant.

Jan 29, 1762.

H. HOBBS.

To be Continued.

General De Boigne's First Wife.

THERE was some correspondence in the *Statesman* in October 1933 and a paper on "A Begum in Sussex" by Sir Evan Cotton in B. P. & P., Oct.-Dec. 1933 number, relating to this subject. With the help of a unique Persian manuscript (1) I have now been able to identify this lady and trace the exact circumstances connected with her marriage.

In December 1794 an exceptionally clever Bengal civilian named Thomas Twining was General De Boigne's guest at Aligarh for two days and a half. He writes, "When the things were removed (from the breakfast table), and he called for his first *chillum*, he (i.e. De Boigne) said he must introduce his son to me, and giving some orders to his servants, they returned with a child about three or four years old, and placed him in a high chair by the side of his father. The general was not married, but he had, it appeared, his seraglio, in the eastern fashion, though not, it was to be hoped, so many wives in it as the Great Mogol. The little boy was dressed much as the child of a prince of the country would have been . . . There was a slight tint, Cashmirean or Hindostanee, in his complexion; and a delicacy in his features and form that led me to doubt whether he would ever attain his father's tall and vigorous stature". (Twining's *Travels in India a Hundred years Ago*, p. 277.)

Readers of the Comtesse De Boigne's voluminous *Mémoires* will remember that the General's French wife (the young daughter of an *émigré* Marquis) hated her husband like poison, and did not visit him even once in his last illness. She calls him a cheat, who concealed his low relatives from her. This expression I take to refer to the oriental harem (2) that De Boigne kept in St. Leonard's Forest (Sussex). Sir Evan Cotton has traced the after life of De Boigne's Mussalman wife who lived there under the name of Mrs. Bennett (Benoit), ended her days in acute distress on 4 January, 1854, and was buried in Horsham churchyard.

My copy of Victor de Saint-Genis's book, *Une Page Inédite de l'histoire des Indes : Le Général De Boigne*, (Poitiers, 1873), contains an inserted leaf on which a former owner has written: "La première femme du General de Boigne était la fille d'un Colonel Persan appelée Helene Bennett—Begum—1788." If the year given here is correct, the General had two Mussalman wives.

(1) A Persian manuscript giving the chronology of events occurring or reported in Delhi from 1738 to 1798, described by me in the *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Record Commission*, Vol. III.

(2) Sir Evan Cotton points out that De Boigne merely bought a house for his Muslim wife there, but never visited her after his marriage with the Marquis's daughter.

The question now is, who was the mother of De Boigne's son? The unique Persian ms mentioned by me records under the date the 23rd April 1792, "De Boigne Feringi, who has been married to the foster-child (*dukhtar-i-khanda*) of the junior Begam of the late Najaf Quli Khan, has granted three villages in parganah Palwal as the said Begam's *Jaidad*." This information enables us to supply the lacunae and correct the editor's date of a despatch from the Maratha envoy at Delhi to the Court of Poona. (Parasnis's ed., Vol. ii, p. 26, also 77.)

Combining all these and some other Persian sources, we learn that General De Boigne, on return from the Rajputana campaign, visited Delhi on the 30th January, 1792 and was presented to the Emperor, the blind old Shah Alam II., on the 4th February,—his first audience having taken place on the 7th August of the year before. On this second occasion he presented a *nazar* of eleven *mohars* to the Emperor and one *mohar* to each of the forty Shahzadas. In return, robes of honour were bestowed on him, on two other French officers in his train and on his Indian secretary. On the 12th of February, 1792, he was married to Moti Begam, popularly called Najaf Quli Khan's daughter. The Marathi letter describes her as a *kalavantin* or a female skilled in music and dancing. She was not a professional dancing girl, but most probably an orphan adopted in her childhood by Najaf Quli Khan's childless second wife and educated in these accomplishments in his harem for presentation to the Emperor or some great noble on his birthday. Such was precisely the origin of Udham Bai, officially known as Hazrat Qudsia Begam, who became the wife of Muhammad Shah and mother of Ahmad Shah Padishah.

The day after the marriage, the newly wedded couple left for Bahadurgarh, in the Baloch settlement west of Delhi, which Mahadji Sindhia had ordered to be attacked. Najaf Quli Khan (who died in July or August 1791), was a leading Persian general of Delhi, and his masculine senior widow shut herself up in the fort of Kanund (now in Patiala territory, 28° 15 N., 76° 13 E.), with all his treasure, troops and servants. Sindhia, under the Emperor's orders, sent a force to capture the place. But the Begam called Ismail Beg Khan (the nephew and son-in-law of the late Muhammad Beg Hamdani) to her aid, admitted him into the fort and stood a long siege by Sindhia's general Gopal Rao Raghunath, with two regiments of De Boigne's troops under Colonel Perron. The Emperor issued repeated orders to Sindhia for punishing Ismail Beg as severely as he had done Ghulam Qadir (who had blinded Shah Alam),—saying that these two were traitors of the same dye. It was, therefore, necessary for Ismail Beg to find a protector with sufficient influence in Sindhia's darbar. So, before De Boigne's marriage, he was entreated by the junior widow of Najaf Quli Khan, "Maintain the honour of Mirza Ismail Beg. Through your mediation I shall make him vacate the fort of Kanund and yield it to the Marathas. But you must save him."

On the 16th April 1792, Ismail Beg slipped out of the fort with only 20 horsemen and sought asylum with Colonel Perron in the Maratha siege-camp. The warlike senior Begam had already been killed by a cannon-ball.

Gopal Rao demanded his surrender, but Perron appealed to De Boigne, who arrived from Bahadurgarh on the fifth day, and induced the garrison to vacate the fort of Kanund after paying their arrears. When Perron introduced Ismail Beg, De Boigne told the latter, "Our people do not practise duplicity or deception. As you have come to this camp of your own motion without the consent of the Maratha sardars, I cannot do anything for you. Whatever Appa Khande Rao decides about you, cannot be objected to by me." Ismail Beg replied, "Well, let my fate come to pass. But this craven-heartedness on your part will be remembered for ever." He referred to the oriental belief that the protection of a refugee is a sacred duty.

De Boigne softened. He rose up, mounted Ismail Beg on his own elephant, and, surrounded by a full escort of his own troops, went to the Maratha general and introduced Ismail Beg to him. It was decided that the captive should be lodged in all honour and comfort in Agra fort and his case referred to Maharajah Sindhia for his orders. [*Ibratnamah*, iii. 262.]

De Boigne gave up to the junior Begam of Najaf Quli all her husband's property found in Kanund and also settled three villages near Palwal on her for her support. When he next came to Agra, he visited Ismail Beg and granted him a monthly allowance of Rs. 600. He constantly protected Ismail Beg, as the Maratha envoy at Delhi complains in his despatches.

The General seems to have taken another Asiatic wife. We learn that "the widow of Mirza Raza of Pondri,—in the Jalesar subdivision of Agra,—shared the fortunes of General De Boigne, and became a Christian on his account." (Atkinson's *N. W. P. Gazetteer*, Vol. VII., App. p. 17.) Was she the Indian lady who lived as "Mrs. Bennett" in Sussex, and is called Nur Begam by Abu Talib who saw her in London?

De Boigne's signature reproduced below occurs on the cover of a Persian letter from him to the Rao Rajah of Kota. It was written over the line where the flap of the envelope was pasted down, and where normally his seal should have been impressed. But, as the second Persian line on the left side states, the seal was just then not at hand (*muhār hāzīr na bud*.) The upper line reads,

Az tarf i Jarnāl (General) De Boigne Sāhib Bahādūr.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

Some Soldiers of Fortune.

XXI. STEWART WILLIAM GARDINER.

STEWART WILLIAM GARDINER (1812-1882), the author of the following autobiographical sketch, was the second son of Rear-Admiral Francis Farington Gardner, R.N., and received a Bengal cadetship in 1827. Particulars of his career are to be found in Major V. C. P. Hodson's *List of Officers of the Bengal Army* (vol. II, pp. 248-9): he was gazetted ensign on 19 July 1828 and resigned, still holding the same rank, on 30 January 1837. His wife, who is generally described as Harmuzi Begam, younger daughter of Alan Hyde Gardner by his wife the Bibi Sahiba Hinga, died on 15 June 1869; and Stewart William himself died on 20 July 1882. It is not necessary to repeat here the story of the Gardner peerage (which his descendants claim) or of Colonel William Linnaeus Gardner, the military adventurer and founder of the 2nd Royal Lancers (Gardner's Horse). The following, from a MS. in S. W. Gardner's handwriting, was printed in *North Indian Notes & Queries*, March 1895 (vol. IV), pp. 215-6.

"I, Stewart William Gardner, was born at Doncaster, in York, England, on the 18th July 1812. I am grandson of the 1st Lord Gardner, and great-grandson of Lieutenant-Colonel William Gardner, of the 11th Dragoon Guards; and second son of the Hon'ble Francis Farrington Gardner, Admiral of R. N., born 1772, died 1821. He was second son of the 1st Lord, Alan Gardner, of the R. N., and his first son, the second Lord, Alan Legge Gardner having had only one son, the present Lord, Alan Legge Gardner, leaves me at present heir presumptive to the honours, and title, in case of his Lordship's death. I being the only son left living of the 1st Lord Alan Gardner's second eldest child, and consequently can claim the title in case of my present cousin Lord Gardner's demise without issue, my own dear eldest brother Frank Charles Gardner, having lost his leg; having been forced to have it amputated twice, the second time by Sir Astley Cooper, the Duke of Clarence put him in Somerset House. My younger brother was Captain Alan Hyde Gardner in the Indian Navy, died (illegible). My eldest sister, Catherine Georgiana Gardner, married Lieutenant-Colonel W. N. Rickards, Political Agent of Jeypur and Bhopal. My youngest sister was married to a Mr. Jones. My dear old Mother was a Miss Straubenzie (sic), of an old Dutch family, that came over to England with a troop of Dutch horse, of their own raising, early in the reign of George II. My mother's brother's son, Sir Charles Straubenzie, K.C.B., was Commander-in-Chief at China and Bombay, 1865-66; the family is highly related. Sir Charles, my cousin's brother ("Henry I") is married to the present Lord Wrottesly's sister, and we are connected with

the present Marchioness of Londonderry, and the Butters of Kirby House, Berkshire.

It is a difficult task to write of one's past life, and especially at my age : for I cannot think of one quarter of the scenes I have passed through. When my poor dear eldest brother's leg was amputated, I was sent by my father to live with his mother, the 1st Lady Gardner, who was most kind to me, and left us all, my brothers and sisters, £600 each at her death, which we duly obtained on coming of age, my dear mother having the interest in the interim. In 1819, my dear father, the Hon'ble Francis Farrington Gardner, Admiral of the Royal Navy, took us all over to France and we lived at Havre-de-Grace until my dear father's death, in 1821, when the French and English residents there buried him with naval honours ; we three brothers went to a French school some twenty miles from Havre-de-Grace, when our uncle, the Hon'ble Major-General H. Gardner, H. M.'s Royal Artillery, came over from England and took us all away, with my dear mother, to England. She (my mother) went and lived at Bristol, and myself and two brothers went and lived at Colchester in Essex, with our uncle, the Hon'ble Major-General Gardner, H. M.'s R. N. (sic), who was in command of Colchester Castle, after which we were sent to school at a place called Helvedon in Essex, under the Rev. Mr. Dunn, and from thence I went to school at Brixbourne, in Hertfordshire, and from there was at school at the (illegible) Durham Grammar School. I did not like it at all, and I ran away from both the former schools. Once when I ran away I was taken up by the police. After leaving the Coburg Theatre in London, I fell asleep in a Charlie's box, who allowed me to sleep therein for a present, and I fancy then told one of his brother Charlies to take me up. At first I was put in Fleet Street gaol, nor did I like to tell I had run away from school for fear of being sent back again there ; but when I found myself mixed up with all the cut-throats, pickpockets and drinking rascals, I got afraid and told them who I was, and got taken to my dear godfather's brother, David Majoribanks (sic), a great banker in London. He paid the Charlies well, who took me there, and took me to his seat, Knight Hill Cottage, Camberwell, and I remained a month with him there, and saw lots of fun at the Camberwell Fair, besides meeting all the great Indian gentlemen at his house ; this was good for me, hereafter, having, as my fate turned out, to spend the rest of my life in the far far East, an outcast to my family.

My dear godfather, Stewart Majoribanks, M.P., having promised my dear mother a commission in the Honourable Company's I. N., my dear mother took me to school for a few months, to show me the sights in London before leaving for India. The sights and doings of London are known to all Englishmen, therefore do not require my recapitulating the same. On the 28th July, 1828, I obtained my cadetship at the India House, and passed my examination there before my godfather's brother, Campbell Majoribanks, President of the Court of Directors at that time. On 25th July, 1828, I left my dear old mother in London and set off for Portsmouth, to sail for my destination, India, on the ship "*Caesar*", Captain Watt. We left England at the end of July (after having our usual old English young men's fun at the

Blue Port Hotel) with 27 young officers, engineers, artillery, cavalry, infantry and civilians, old and young ; and after many days' sailing arrived all safe at the Island of Madeira, just in time to be fired upon by the Forts of the Island, another Portuguese ship trying to enter the harbour with us under British colours, the Island being at war just then with Don Miguel. After the Portuguese ship leaving us we were allowed to sail into harbour at Fyal or Funchal. We stayed at the island eight or ten days ; and when forced to leave, all English had been ordered off the Island into their own ships. The Hon'ble Captain Canning with one of H. M.'s 50-pr. ships was sent to the Island to protect the English during the fight. Don Miguel took the Island and drove hundreds of the Islanders in to sea. Our ship stood out to sea, we had the merchant we were staying with and all his money on board our ship. We saw the Island most splendidly illuminated all over from top to toe, and after landing the merchant and thousands of pounds of (illegible) on the Island again, we set off sail again for the Cape of Good Hope. We got there all safe, and we stayed at the Cape of Good Hope 14 days and went a trip to Constantine and drank lots of the sweet wine there out of the old Dutch wine merchants' cellars. Went up the (illegible) and enjoyed ourselves much. From there, we sailed direct for India and arrived at Calcutta, January 1829. I left with others at Sandheads and came direct at night in a large boat up to Calcutta and stopped a few days in the Cadets' Barracks, Fort William. Reported myself to all the big wigs and then I went and put up with a great friend of my uncle's (the Hon'ble Edward Gardner, C.S., and Colonel W. L. Gardner, my half-brother) Sir Robert Colcognan commanding the Calcutta Militia. Lady Colcognon (sic) was a very nice and kind lady, and she introduced me to all the great people, Sir Butterworth Baily and the rest. Sir Robert took me in his carriage and procured for me all the things I required. I was then ordered up to Benares with a whole batch of cadets. We had a regular little fleet of boats. I had a (illegible) with another officer. On my arrival at Patna, there was a palkee and several chuprassies with the Gardner crest in silver on their puggies, and one crest on the palkee. This I knew to be my dear uncle's, the Hon'ble Edward Gardner, Ambassador at the Court of Nepal. He was on his way to England and was staying with Sir Charles and Lady Dolby, Governor-General's Agent at Patna. I of course went there and stayed with my dear good uncle and Sir Charles and Lady Dolby for 14 days, and then left for Ghazipur and put up with Mr. Baily, Governor-General's Agent at Ghazipur, for six days, and he sent me on in his buggy to Benares, where I put up with Mr. James Prinsep, of the Mint, for six months. I was doing duty with the 55th Regiment Native Infantry ; from there I was appointed permanently to the 21st Regiment, Native Infantry, at Ghazipur. From there my uncle, Colonel W. L. Gardner, got permission for me to do duty with the 28th Regiment, Native Infantry, at Meerut, for the purpose of being near him, so I left in 1830 and went up the whole of the way by Dawk up to Kasgunje and arrived there at evening, and for the first time found myself with my uncle, Colonel W. L. Gardner, who had a perfect native house and Fort and large native family ; so, of course, when I saw this I felt very uncomfortable, for I could not speak one word of

Hindustani, nor did I know one single thing of native ways. However, my old half-uncle being English, I soon got into the ways, which of course any young inexperienced gentleman would when the attraction was so great to youth, the Zenanah being filled with young girls and no other male inside but myself and old uncle, and thus by Lieutenant (illegible) was led entirely away, and the kindness and fling I was allowed at Kasgunje entirely allured me and unfitted me for the service, so that after serving nine years I left the Honourable Company's service for old Colonel Gardner, with his Begam and the King of Delhi's sister, coming over to (illegible) in 1835 where my regiment was then stationed with about one hundred Bhats, Jharriahs, and Billais filled with women, together with the great attraction I saw at the Taj Gardens when the Colonel had it illuminated for two days and all the ladies and great people of the station coming down to see the Colonel, only ladies allowed inside the Taj, where all the fountains were playing and 400 girls dressed out all in Indian splendour. My heart was fairly won by one of the Colonel's ladies, Husun Jaun Begam, and for her I immediately proposed to the Captain, who immediately gave me his consent to the marriage, and requested me to go to the Bolderos, my relatives, and take their advice on the subject. So I went to Mr. J. S. Boldero, Judge of Agra, and Mr. and Mrs. B. and self all drove over in the evening to Captain Gardner's, and the marriage with myself and Husun Jaun Begam was settled, but my regiment being ordered on service to Jodhpur, the marriage had to be solemnised quickly; the Colonel's Begam wished to put it off till I returned; but I insisted that if it was to come off it must be now; so the Colonel got all ready, and on the 28th of August, 1834, the marriage took place at Agra with great pomp; it was performed by the Rev. Dr. Parish, M.D., before Mr. and Mrs. Boldero, Judge of Agra, Colonel James Gardner, his son, and the old Colonel's Begam and H. H. Malka Begam, several officers of H. M.'s 13th Light Infantry, and my own officers of my Regiment, 28th Native Infantry, and many other officers of the station; all of whom received an invite from Colonel Gardner. I was afterwards married in the native way in grand style and was paraded all through the city of Agra with a grand sowari of elephants, horses, raths, nalks, palkees, carriages, buggies, bilies and no end of sowars and sepoys and chuprassies the whole way to my bungalow in cantonments. I gave away one thousand rupees on the road to the poor people. Mrs. Boldero in her carriage came with my Begam the whole way and next day I had to return in the same state, and nautches and dancing were kept up for one week—7 days, though the Colonel gave a lot of Jewels and silver and gold things with my wife, a gold and silver bed, most beautifully done up; elephants, horses, bullocks, all with silver trappings. After a few days our Regiment marched with the ammunition and train for Jodhpur, and our corps was encamped on the Sambhar Salt Lake with a large army against the (illegible) of Jodhpur; they gave in, and our Regiment went to Hussainabad for several days. I took my Begam in state to pay a visit to the Ajmere tomb, and from Hussainabad our Corps was ordered to Neemuch; from that station, after being there two years, I left the service and came and took charge of my wife's villages. At first I remained at Agra and purchased three bungalows there, but lost by them;

so I came to Kasgunje and on seeing my villages I had my tents pitched at Munouta and on thinking I should like this quiet life, I began to build myself a small place, and thus I have been led from one thing and another to spend the remainder of my days at this village. After being many years here, went to see my sister, Mrs. W. R. Rickards, at Bhurtpore, and her husband, who was Political Agent at Jeypore, would have me accompany them back to Jeypore : so I went and at a grand visit with Mr. Rickards, Political Agent of Jeypore, the Maharaja took a fancy to me and asked me to remain in his service, which I said I would, should the Maharaja agree to keep me with Izzut and give me a good Bytuk with the rest of the Moosahibs, which he agreed to, and two days after I was sent for to a grand durbar and received the appointment of Kudeem Nazim or Nazim at (illegible) 750 rupees per mensem and got a grand Khillat of pearl necklace placed on my neck by the Maharaja's own hands, together with a horse, pair of shawls, kincob, dress, etc., etc. and 2,000 rupees cash and a month's leave to go and bring my wife and family to Jeypore. The Rajah was most kind to her, and always was treated well by all at Jeypore and remained in His Highness' service five years and left when I found the other Sirdars were getting envious of me and would have done me harm some day : so I left and returned again to my old home, friend of mine, a Mr. George Saunders, asking me to take charge of his Indigo factories. Many years after I left Jeypore and took charge of them for nearly three years on 250 rupees per mensem ; for [in] the dreadful year of 1857, the Mutiny, I suffered no end of misery ; for I was isolated out at Munouta, 75 miles from any high European, for four months and upwards and was attacked by the regular sepoy of the line, together with hundreds of Pathans and other people, which by the mercy of my two sons and the few muskets, or matchlocks, and the small guns we had, and by God's help, we drove them away and I was relieved by Mr. Cox, C.B., Commissioner, sending me 200 men tag-rag and bob-tail, which, together with 75 of my own servants, we got safe to the station with great difficulty, for in those days not a man was to be depended upon ; from thence we arrived safe at Agra and put up in the city, but had to go into the Fort, for Agra was attacked too before me, and I was on the parade ground a few minutes before the firing commenced ; my children went in the midst of it ; I was on the field of battle at (illegible) and saw all the dying and wounded. One of my sons went and served in the Meerut Yeomanry Horse and remained with it till it was broken up. We were in the Agra Fort serving the guns ; had my tents pitched near the Fort and kept them till things quieted a little, and then went and lived in the city, till I could again get over to my villages, where I again returned to my old house. Mr. George Saunders, a friend of mine, going to England, I took charge of his indigo factories in Jeypore Zillah on 250 rupees per mensem for three years, and again returned to my house, where, with great difficulty, I now live and take care of the wrole family on the small pittance derived from the villages."

Though Stewart William Gardiner was at one time a regular officer of the Bengal Army, he qualifies for this series of articles on Soldiers of Fortune

since, apart from his relationship to the redouble William Linnaeus Gardner, he was himself in the service of the Maharaja of Jaipur.

XXX. JOSEPH EVEN

Joseph Even, sometime commander-in-chief of the Begam Sombre's forces, has been mentioned in articles XVII and XVIII in this series. With the exception of the apocryphal Marchand, he is the most elusive of the Sardhana commanders. I am now able to give at least the dates of his birth and death, and a few details of his personal history.

He appears to have succeeded Baours *alias* de la Roy as commander-in-chief, about 1783/4; but he had been in the Begam's service as early as A.H. 1193 (A.D. 1779/1780). This information we glean from the details transcribed by Dyce Sombre from old pay-rolls into his diary: he simply notes that Even appears in A. H. 1193 as drawing Rs. 150 monthly. As Sombre himself had only died in May 1778, it is by no means improbable that Even had been in his service.

Our next information is also from Dyce Sombre's diary. In December 1836 he visited Mirzapur on his way down country to Calcutta, and the following entry occurs:—

"Want . . . with Colonel Newton to the town . . . and by chance he took me to Monsr. Evans' (sic) house, who proved to be the son of Evan (sic), in whose house Le Vassoult had put money; and after his death H. H. [the Begam] did not get back much, if [any] at all; and who also commanded H. H. troops in 1197, or before. He is a very gentlemanly like person indeed, but self-conceited; I was glad to have seen him, however."

This leads us to a paragraph which appeared in *Northern India Notes and Queries* (May, 1891), Vol. I, no. 2, p. 53, from the pen of Wm. Crooke, B.C.S., the editor, who was then stationed at Mirzapur:—

"In the compound of the house of the Maharaja of Benares, on the left bank of the Ganges, opposite the city of Mirzapur, is a square masonry tomb with a marble slab containing this inscription:—

Ci Git

Joseph Even Devil (sic) Monbiarn (sic)

Né à Rennes le 15 Août 1749.

Mort le 10 Novembre 1805.

Below in Persian characters,

Joseph Even Bahadur.

In the compound are three native tombs, one known as that of Basanta Bibi. These have no inscriptions. M. Monbiarn is believed to have been a merchant. He must have been a wealthy man as is evident from the house and gardens which he constructed."

In reply to a request for information, the District Magistrate of Mirzapur kindly states : "The tomb referred to is still in existence in the compound of a bungalow owned by the Maharaja of Benares on the left bank of the river Ganges. The inscription on the tomb has been verified and is correct."

Even's birthplace as given in his monumental inscription is obviously corrupt, and I accordingly made inquiries from the Librarian of the Royal Geographical Society. "I cannot throw much light upon the problem of 'Devil Monbiarn' ", he writes. "There is no Vilmon or Monbiarn in the best gazetteer of France which we have. The nearest I can find, but of course they probably have no connexion with it, are Biarne, in the Jura, and Vilmorin, Seine et Oise. It is possible that, as he was born in Rennes, 'Monbiarn' is a corruption of the neighbouring department of 'Morbihan' ".

H. BULLOCK.

The First Bengali Newspaper.

THE controversy over the name and origin of the first Bengali newspaper, in its present form, dates from 1852, when the *Prabhakar*, the famous Bengali periodical edited by Isvar Chandra Gupta, published an account of the Native Press in which it was stated that the first Bengali newspaper was not the *Sumachar Durpun*, started by the Serampur Mission in 1818 but the *Bengal Gazette* edited by Gangadhar Bhattacharya and published in 1816. This account was translated in the *Englishman and Military Chronicle* for May 8, 1852, and possibly made the Rev. James Long modify his previous statement that the *Sumachar Durpun* was the first Bengali newspaper (1). Since then the controversy has continued, though none has yet been able to settle the question definitely by producing a copy of the *Bengal Gazette*. I have, however, recently unearthed a mass of evidence which, though indirect, proves that the *Bengal Gazette* was first published not in 1816 by Gangadhar Bhattacharya, but in 1818 by Gangakishore Bhattacharya and also justifies us in inferring that it did not forestall the *Sumachar Durpun*, though it was certainly the first Bengali newspaper to be brought out by a Bengali. Let me set forth this evidence point by point.

First of all, we find an editorial in the *Sumachar Durpun* of June 11, 1831, which shows that the controversy over the first Bengali newspaper was already more than twenty years old when the *Prabhakar* gave it a new life in 1852. The *Durpun* writes :

"THE DURPUN AND THE BENGAL GAZETTE. A correspondent in the *Chundrika*, in replying to a letter given in the *Durpun*, denies that this paper was the first ever published in the Bengalee language (2). He affirms that Gunga Kishore published another paper called the *Bengal Gazette* before the appearance of the *Durpun*.

To this we would reply, that the *Bengal Gazette* was published (we believe) a fortnight *after* the first number of our paper had appeared, certainly not *before* the publication of the *Durpun*. This question of priority may easily be decided by the Correspondent of the *Chundrika*'s favoring us with the date on which the first number of the *Bengal Gazette* was printed, and thus enabling us to compare it with the earliest date of the *Durpun*. Should he not be in possession of the first number of that paper, we must search the English newspapers of the year 1818

(1) See Long's "Early Bengali Literature and Newspapers" (*Calcutta Review*, 1850, p. 145) in which he stated that the *Sumachar Durpun* was the first Bengali newspaper. But in his *Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali Works*, published in 1855, he gave this honour to the *Bengal Gazette*.

(2) Quoted in the *Sumachar Durpun* for June 11, 1831, p. 191.

in which Gunga Kishore's advertisement appeared. Being fully convinced that the *Durpun* was the first native newspaper ever published in India, we are not prepared to resign our laurels, without irrefragable evidence.

As the files of the *Chundrika* are no longer available, I have not been able to ascertain whether it published any further correspondence on the point. But it seems reasonable to infer that if it had, the information would certainly have been reproduced and commented upon in the *Durpun*. The explicit statement of the *Durpun* seems, therefore, to have settled the question in the light of the information available in 1831.

We are carried back a stage further by the following information given by the *Friend of India* (Quarterly Series) in its first number (1820, pp. 134-35):—

"The first Hindoo who established a press in Calcutta was Baboo-ram, a native of Hindoosthan. . . He was followed by Gunga Kishore, formerly employed at the Serampore press, who appears to have been the first who conceived the idea of printing works in the current language as a means of acquiring wealth. To ascertain the pulse of the Hindoo public, he printed several works at the press of a European, for which having obtained a ready sale, he established an office of his own, and opened a book-shop. For more than six years, he continued to print in Calcutta various works in the Bengalee language, but having disagreed with his coadjutor, he has now removed his press to his native village. He appointed agents in the chief towns and villages in Bengal, from whom his books were purchased with great avidity ; and within a fortnight after the publication from the Serampore press of the *Sumachar Durpun*, the first Native Weekly Journal printed in India, he published another, which we hear has since failed.

Though this information proceeds from the same source as that given by the *Durpun*, it was published within two years of the event, and as such it commands the greatest weight.

The last link in the chain of argument, so far as the available information goes, is furnished by two advertisements published in the *Government Gazette* for May 14 and July 9, 1818 respectively. These are absolutely contemporary evidence and show that the *Bengal Gazette* was actually published at some uncertain date between May 12 and July 9, 1818. The first of these advertisements runs :

"HURROCHUNDER ROY begs leave to inform his Friends and the Public in general, that he has established a BENGALLEE PRINTING PRESS, at No. 45, Chorebagaun Street, where he intends to publish a WEEKLY BENGAL GAZETTE, to comprise the Translation of Civil Appointments, Government Notifications, and such other Local Matter, as may be deemed interesting to the Reader, into a plain, concise, and correct Bengalee Language ; to which will be added the Almanack, for the subsequent Months, with the Hindoo Births, Marriages, and Deaths.

Advertisement for insertion in this Gazette, will be received at

2 Annas per line. English and Persian, the same Price.

Gentlemen wishing to become Subscribers to this Weekly Publication will be pleased to send their Names to HURROCHUNDER ROY, at his PRESS, No. 45, Chorebagaun Street, where every information will be thankfully received.

The Price of Subscription is 2 Rupese per Month, Extras included. Calcutta, 12th May, 1818.

The second is as follows :—

HURROCHUNDER ROY

Having established a BENGALÉE PRINTING PRESS and a WEEKLY BENGAL GAZETTE, which he publishes on Fridays, containing the Translation of Civil Appointments, Government Notifications and Regulations, and such other LOCAL MATTER as are deemed interesting to the Reader, into a plain, concise and correct Bengalee language, and having spared no pains or trouble to render it as interesting as possible, earnestly hopes that in consideration of the heavy expenses which he has incurred, Gentlemen who have a knowledge and proficiency in that language, will be pleased to patronize his undertaking, by becoming subscribers to the BENGAL GAZETTE. No publication of this nature having hitherto been before the Public, HURROCHUNDER ROY trusts that the community in general will encourage and support his exertions in the attempt which he has made, and afford him a small share of their Patronage.

Gentlemen wishing to become Subscribers to this WEEKLY PUBLICATION will be pleased to send their names to HURROCHUNDER ROY, at his Press, No. 145, Chorebagan Street, where every information will be thankfully received. The Price of Subscription is 2 Rupees per month. Extras included.

Calcutta, Chorebagan Street, No. 145.

The mention of Hurrochunder Roy in these advertisements should not puzzle any one. He was the partner of Gangakishore Bhattacharya in this venture and continued as such till the latter removed the press to his native village, Bahara, near Serampur, as the result of a misunderstanding. The important information given by the advertisements establishes beyond doubt that the *Bengal Gazette* was published not in 1816 or 1815, but in 1818, that is, in the same year as the *Sumachar Durpun*. As regards the question of precedence between the two, we must for the present remain satisfied with the explicit statement of the *Friend of India* and the *Durpun* itself that the *Sumachar Durpun* was published about a fortnight before the *Bengal Gazette*. There is nothing inherently improbable in this statement, and in any case the *Gazette* could not have been published more than eight days before the *Sumachar Durpun*, as the first Friday (on which day the *Bengal Gazette* used to be published) after May 12, 1818, the date of the first advertisement, fell on May 15, and the first issue of the *Durpun* was published on May 23, 1818.

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJEE.

The Editor's Note-Book.

WE reproduce a portrait (30 inches by 25 inches) of Sir John Clavering the "Governor-General of a Day", by Gilbert Stuart, which was sold at Sotheby's on May 16, 1928, by order of Lord Vernon and realised £310. With it was sold a companion picture of the same dimensions by Francis Cotes, R.A., of Lady Diana Clavering, daughter of Earl de la Warr, who was Clavering's first wife and who died in 1766. He then married Catherine Yorke, who accompanied him to Calcutta in 1774 with two step-daughters. One of these, Maria Margareta, after an engagement to Barwell which fell through after a duel with the General, married the seventh Lord Napier and Merchiston, a lineal descendant of the "Lord of Logarithms". Her grandson (1819-1898), who was created an English peer by the title of Baron Ettrick, was Governor of Madras from 1866 to 1872 and acted as provisional Governor-General for three months in 1872 on the assassination of Lord Mayo.

The other step-daughter, Caroline, married Sir John Warren in 1780. Clavering received the red ribbon of the Bath in June 1777 and died in Calcutta on August 30, 1777, at his house in Mission Row. Although he acted in public matters in opposition to Hastings, no love was lost in private between Francis and Clavering. Dr. Busteed reproduces Stuart's portrait opposite page 153 of the fourth edition of his *Echoes* (1908); but does not mention the name of the artist, and merely states that the painting was then owned by the Dowager Lady Napier and Ettrick.

THE portrait of Clavering at the Victoria Memorial Hall is the work of a German artist, J. H. Tischbein, and was painted at Hesse-Cassel in 1760, while the General was on a mission there. It was purchased by Lord Curzon from the collection of Sir William Clavering, Bart. The picture is a half-length in military uniform and wig, with the right hand resting on the back of a chair. In both paintings the left hand is missing and the sleeve is pinned to the coat. Clavering was a Guardsman and a distinguished soldier. He was brigadier-general in the attack on Guadeloupe in 1759, and Horace Walpole wrote of him in one of his letters: "Clavering was the real hero of Guadeloupe. He has come Home covered with more laurels than a boar's head".



LIEUT.-GEN. SIR JOHN CLAVERING, K.B. (1722-1777)
MEMBER OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL IN BENGAL, 1774-1777
Died in Calcutta August 30, 1777
BY GILBERT STUART
From the Collection of Lord Vernon
Sold at Sotheby's on May 16, 1928

GILBERT STUART, the painter of the other portrait, was born in Rhode Island in 1755 and came to England some twenty years later. He became a pupil of Benjamin West and, setting up a studio in London, met with considerable success. He is represented at the National Portrait Gallery by no less than eight works, including portraits of John Kemble, Mrs. Siddons and West himself. He is best remembered by his portraits of George Washington, of which he painted several. There was one of them in Calcutta in 1925 in the possession of Mr. N. C. Mallick of Wellington Square, which was presented in 1801 by a number of Americans to Ramdoolall Dey, a wealthy and prosperous merchant in Calcutta who did a large business with the United States. Another, a full length, was painted at Philadelphia and presented to the first Marquess of Lansdowne, being sold in June 1827 to a Russian gentleman for £1,000. Stuart remained in London till 1787 when his extravagant habits compelled him to migrate first to Dublin and then to Paris where he painted a portrait of Louis XVI. Returning eventually to America, he died at Boston in 1823. A portrait of Warren Hastings was sold some years ago to an American purchaser as the work of Stuart; but the probability is that it is one of the replicas of the picture by Lemuel Abbott, which belonged to Sir Francis Baring (Director of the East India Company from 1775 to 1810) and was sold in 1929 by order of the present Lord Northbrook. Although it was catalogued as a Hoppner, it undoubtedly resembles the Abbott type. And in any case, as already stated, Stuart left London for Dublin in 1787, and there is no record that Hastings ever sat to him.

IN 1818 and 1819 Thomas Daniell exhibited at the Royal Academy six pictures of Sezincote, the mansion near Moreton-in-the-Marsh of Sir Charles Cockerell, a retired Bengal civilian. It was visited in 1800 by Mirza Abu Talib Khan in the course of a tour by coach with Cockerell which included a short stay at Daylesford and an interview with Warren Hastings. Cockerell inherited the property on the death in 1798 of his brother Lieut.-Colonel John Cockerell of the Bengal Army. Both were relatives of Samuel Pepys through their mother Frances Jackson, and there was a third brother, Samuel Pepys Cockerell, who was Surveyor to the East India Company. The building had been erected in the Indian style of architecture by Repton and was inspected in 1807 by the Prince of Wales (afterwards George IV) when he stayed with Lord and Lady Hertford at Ragley, which is some twenty miles away. The Prince was so struck by the appearance of the building that he ordered Repton to draw up designs for making the Pavilion at Brighton into an Indian palace. Lack of money prevented the realisation of the scheme, but Repton's designs, which are clearly inspired by the Daniells', are still in existence. When he became Regent, the Prince undertook the rebuilding of the Pavilion but gave the work to Nash, and the result is the blend of Indian, Chinese and Moorish styles which may be seen today. It seems from the description of the pictures that a Wellington Pillar and a temple and a fountain formed part of the

attractions of Sezincote. A relative of Repton, Edward Eardley Harris Repton, who was the son of a Prebendary of Westminster, obtained a Bengal writer-ship and arrived in India in September 1820. Nearly the whole of his service was passed in Orissa and he was magistrate of Balasore when he died at Eastborne on August 15, 1843 in his thirty-fourth year. There is a tablet to his memory in Eastbourne Parish Church. His wife and infant son are buried at Balasore: both died in 1836.

IN 1929 we reproduced in *Bengal : Past and Present* (vol. XXXVII, p. 158) a water-colour sketch of a "View at the back of Government House" from the collection at the Victoria Memorial Hall. It had been acquired in 1925 and on the strength of a statement by the dealer had been attributed to James Hunter. But it is not signed and there are no grounds beyond the dealer's statement for the attribution or for the date (1801), which we shall presently show to be incorrect. We now hear from London of a drawing in water-colour on vellum, signed by William Daniell, measuring 14 inches by 19½ inches, which represents exactly the same scene—a group of persons exhibiting a captured lion to three Englishmen. The drawing has been purchased for the Victoria Memorial Hall.

THE date 1801 which is assigned to the alleged sketch by Hunter cannot in any case be correct, for Buckingham House was pulled down in 1798 to make way for Wellesley's palatial structure. Unless the lion in the cage, which dominates the foreground, attained a patriarchal age, the period must be between 1785 and 1790; and we know that the Daniells were in Calcutta from 1785 or 1786 to 1788. There are several references to the captive lion in Hastings' letters. It was probably a present to the Governor-General from the menagerie of the Nawab of Oudh. James Augustus Hicky alludes to the "Lyon in the G—'s compound at Buckingham House" in one of his paragraphs in the *Bengal Gazette* during 1780. On December 8, 1780, Hastings writing to his wife who was staying at Chinsurah said: "I have migrated to my own house", by which he means Buckingham House; "but the Lyon roars so noisily that suspecting he might disturb my Rest, I have returned to our Bed for the Night". That is to say, he has gone over to Mrs. Hastings' house, now known as No. 7 Hastings Street. The "Lyon", says "Sydney C. Grier", had been brought down in August from the Upper Provinces by Samuel Touchet, who was one of the brothers of Mrs. Hastings' friend Mrs. Motte. In the post-script to an earlier letter written by Hastings on August 7, 1780, to his wife at Chinsurah, he says: "Did I tell you that I had a letter from Scott who mentions passing young Touchet, my lion and Zebra, all in perfect health?". Scott, who was afterwards better known as Major Scott Waring, had been

acting as aide-de-camp to Hastings and was on his way back to rejoin his battalion of sepoys at Chunar.

ACCORDING to a letter from Mr. Edward Thompson which was published in *The Times* of May 10, 1932, the last lion in Central India was shot at Goona on June 15, 1873. Eleven years before this, an officer shot six at Goona; and late in the 'sixties when the railway was being built, engineers shot two near Allahabad. The last lion in Jodhpur was killed in 1873. A few lions survived until 1930 in the Sheopur jungles in the Gwalior State. Junagadh in Kathiawar has the last Indian lions. They once shrank to a dozen and are now believed to number about a hundred. They have established themselves in several parts of the neighbouring State of Baroda and are being protected.

A FORGOTTEN grave in the Military Cemetery at Bhowanipore bears testimony to a remarkable military career. Major William Turner of H. M.'s 50th Regiment, who died off Fort William A Peninsular Veteran. when on his way to England on June 17, 1841, at the age of 48 years, is declared by the inscription to have served in the army in Holland, Portugal and Spain for no less a period than 34 years. He was present at the battles of Roleia, Vimiera and Corunna, the siege of Flushing, and the battles of Fuentes d'Onor, Arroyo dos Molinos, Almaraz, Alba de Tormoa, Badajoz and Vittoria, where he lost his right arm. It was also his fate to serve for "many long and trying years" in the West Indies and in New South Wales.

A COPY of Derozario's *Complete Monumental Register* (Calcutta, 1815) in the possession of Major Bullock bears the following MS. inscription on the front end-paper: "Frances Mary Montagu one of the books left for my choice by Capt'n. M. Montagu, R.N., 1864". Captain Montagu Montagu, R.N., the former owner of this book, was also the first known owner of the MS. of the *Memoirs of William Hickey*, which manuscript he may have acquired direct from Hickey's estate. Captain Montagu died on 31st July 1863, aged 76, when the MS. of the *Memoirs* passed to his nephew Colonel Horace Montagu, who died on 14th Oct. 1910, aged 76, and then to Major Poore, who died on 22nd January 1918. Both these officers served in the 8th Hussars in the Crimea and the Indian Mutiny; and it is to be noted that Major Bullock's book contains MS. notes (in a later hand than Miss Montagu's) of the epitaphs of various officers of the 8th Hussars which are to be found in Derozario's compilation. This book, like the MS. of the *Memoirs*, may therefore have passed into the possession of Colonel Horace Montagu and Major Poore. It is tempting to suppose that this may have been Hickey's own copy of the *Complete Monumental Register*, but there is nothing more to associate him with it: the epitaph of his "wife" Charlotte appears on page 32 but is not marked in any way. The binding is the original one, but the end-papers,

on one of which Miss Montagu's inscription appears, seem to have been renewed at some date between 1815 and 1864. Are any books extant which are known to have been in Hickey's library?

THE London newspapers of November 12 announce the death at Cheltenham, in her eighty-first year, of Mrs. Kathleen Haynes, the last surviving daughter of Thomas Henry Kavanagh, V.C.
 A Daughter of 'Lucknow' Kavanagh She went through the siege of the Lucknow Residency with her parents and three other children, of whom one (an infant brother) died, while the mother was seriously wounded. Mrs. Haynes was the widow of Colonel F. H. Haynes of the 21st Lancers. Her sister Blanche, who was married to Lieutenant-Colonel Long of the 10th Hussars, died at Gloucester on September 27, 1933. The feat for which their father received the Victoria Cross is thus recorded on a memorial tablet in Christ Church, Lucknow. "With the devotion of an ancient Roman, taking his life in his hand, he went forth from the beleaguered Residency on the 9th of November 1857, and, passing through a city thronged with merciless enemies, triumphantly guided Sir Colin Campbell and his army to the relief of the garrison." Kavanagh was the son of a British soldier, and at the time of the siege was a clerk in the Chief Commissioner's office in Lucknow. He disguised himself as an upcountry *badmash*, with sword and shield, country-made shoes, tight trousers, a yellow silk *kurta* over a close-fitting white muslin shirt, a yellow-coloured chintz sheet thrown over the shoulders, a cream coloured turban and a white kamarband, and daubed his face and hands with lampblack. Accompanied by Kanauji Lal, the famous scout, he made his way to the British cavalry outposts. An account of his adventures will be found in his book, "How I Won the V. C.", which was published by Ward Lock and Co. in 1860. For the signal service which he rendered, he was awarded a donation of Rs. 20,000 and was promoted to the office of Assistant Commissioner in Oudh, on a commencing salary of Rs. 700 a month. He rose to be Deputy Commissioner, and died at Gibraltar in 1883, on his way to Europe. Besides Mrs. Haynes and Mrs. Long, Kavanagh had twelve other children. One, who was the wife of Dr. E. E. Francis, will be remembered in Calcutta. Another was married to Mr. C. W. MacMinn, who upon retirement from the Indian Civil Service in the Central Provinces, became Manager of the Tippera Raj. Her sister Florence died at Wardha on January 21, 1883, at the age of seventeen, and is buried in the cemetery there. The sword, shield and cloak used by Kavanagh were presented some years ago to the United Service Museum.

THE 22nd Field Battery, Royal Artillery, is the Residency Battery. This unit went through the whole of the siege and has received the title as a recognition of its services. The European gunners in the Residency were drawn from No. 1 Light Field Battery of the Bengal Artillery.

WE gather some details of an otherwise unknown military adventurer from a letter written by Major-General Arthur Wellesley (later Duke of Wellington) to the Secretary of Government, Bombay, from the "Camp at Panowullah" on 23rd May 1804.

San Martinho de Arango.

This letter appears in the Wellington Despatches, new and enlarged edition, 1852, vol. II, pp. 1194-5. Wellesley writes: "I have had the honour of receiving your letter of the 21st instant containing the copy of a petition from Sr. San Martinho de Arango, late an officer in the service of the Marhatta states. In my opinion, it is necessary that Sr. de Arango should prove, in a satisfactory manner, the truth of the allegations in his petition; that he was in the service of the Marhatta states; that he held the rank of captain; enjoyed 300 rupees a month; and quitted the service in consequence of the proclamation of his Excellency at the period stated. If he should prove those facts, it will be proper to pay him 300 rupees *per mensem*, from the period at which he quitted the service of the Marhatta states, to the 30th Dec., the date of the treaty of peace, and to send him to Goa."

FROM the same Despatches, though in a different edition and volume (*Supplementary Despatches*, vol. IV, p. 375) we learn the name of

Pierre Damois.

another equally elusive adventurer, Pierre Damois. On 22nd April 1804 Wellesley wrote to Jonathan Duncan at Bombay: "I have the honour to inform you that a Frenchman, by name Pierre Damois, has arrived here this day with a note to myself, and the enclosed passport from the Resident at Poonah. He has served several of the Mahratta chiefs and states, Prittee Niddee in last instance; and he has quitted the service of that chief to throw himself under the protection of the British Government. He was a lieutenant in the service of Prittee Niddee, and received 300 rupees *per mensem*. I imagine that he cannot be considered to be entitled to the benefit of the proclamation of His Excellency the Governor-General of the 29th August last; and I therefore beg leave to recommend that you should give orders that he may receive such a provision as is allowed by the regulations of your Government to a prisoner of war, till an opportunity shall occur of sending him to Bengal."

THE India Office library possesses a copy of a curious book entitled *Essai historique, géographique et politique sur l'Indoustan*, par M. Legoux de

A French Military Engineer to Haider Ali.

Flaix, ancien officier de génie, published at Paris in 1807 in two volumes octavo. The title page mentions a map and 14 plates, but these are missing from the India Office copy. The author was born at Pondicherry, returned there from France in 1769, and went back to Europe in 1788. From 1773 to 1777 he was in the service of Haider Ali. At page iv of vol. I he says: "I was sent to India as a military engineer to assist M. Déclaison, director of the new fortifications which it was proposed to construct at Pondicherry. I arrived there

in May 1769. This town, where I was born, was no longer such as it had been when I left it to go to Europe for my training. . . . I had won the regard and trust of M. Law de Lauriston, the governor-general of Pondicherry : in 1773 he proposed to me that I should go to the Nawab of Mysore, the famous Hyder Ali Khan. . . [who] kept me with him. . . [and] employed me on various civil and military works ; and entrusted me with several diplomatic missions, up to 1777, whilst I was at his Court" (p. viii). Elsewhere in the text, which is almost wholly occupied with a report on the natural resources of the country and with proposals for their exploitation, he mentions having visited Delhi, Benares and Chandernagore. The book might be of some value as a source for economic history ; and at p. 184 is an interesting reference to the Jesuit establishments at Delhi which we do not recall having noticed in Sir Edward Maclagan's fine book :—

Tout auprès (to the slaughter-house near the Jamna river at Delhi) se trouve le couvent des missionnaires jésuites ; c'est une assez belle maison, de construction européenne : leur église est petite, mais ornée avec le goût et la magnificence que l'on peut attendre d'un prince tel que le fameux Eckbar, qui en a été le fondateur ainsi que l'architecte.

THE extent to which the memory of these peripatetic French soldiers of fortune has persisted in the Indian countryside is well illustrated by an entry in the diary of Sir M. E. Grant Duff on 16 February 1883, when he was Governor of Madras. A Memory of Bussy. "At a nautch this morning, in the fort of the Mandasa Zemindar", he wrote, "Mr. Goodrich said to me, "Do you recognise the air to which they are dancing?" It was *Malbrook se va-t'en guerre*. Bussy taught it to the dancing-girls of Vizianagram, and they to their neighbours." (*Notes from a Diary, 1881-1886*, London, 1899, p. 99).

THE question was asked at the conclusion of an article on the Black Hole of Calcutta which we published early in 1934 (Vol. XLVII, p. 56) as to the identity of Captain Pigot, for whom it was claimed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1788, that he was "one of the 23 persons who providentially escaped the fate of their fellow-prisoners, suffocated in the Black Hole at Calcutta, in 1756." Thanks to Dr. David T. Wylie, of Oxford, who has kindly been at some pains to investigate this matter both at the Public Record Office and by a search of the Compton Chamberlayne parish registers, we are able in part to throw some light on this officer. In the first place it is established that his name was properly John Pigott, and that he was at the time of his death Captain of one of the six independent companies of Invalids at Plymouth. His death is not recorded in the registers of Compton Chamberlayne, or Compton-Chamberlaine, which is a small

parish in Wiltshire ; and as he was succeeded in his command by Lt.-Govr. John Campbell on May 28, 1788, it is likely that his death took place at Plymouth on that date or shortly before. The question now arises, had Pigott ever any personal connexion with Bengal? A clue to the answer may perhaps lie in the following dates of his commissions, taken from War Office records preserved in the P. R. O. He was appointed Ensign, 39th Foot, 5 Jan. 1751 ; Lieut., 19 June 1755 ; do., 36th Foot, 21 Sept. 1757 ; do., 74th Foot, 1 May 1760 ; do., 59th Foot, 25 Dec. 1770 ; Capt., 12th Foot, 26 Dec. 1778 ; Capt. of one of the six independent companies of Invalids at Plymouth, 17 Feb. 1780.

THE 39th Foot (Adlercron's—"Primus in Indis") embarked at Gravesend and Kinsale in March, 1754, and reached Madras on 27th Sept. following. In Oct. 1756 three companies of the Regiment accompanied Clive on his expedition to Bengal undertaken for the purpose of recruiting Calcutta and avenging the Black Hole. From the logs of the ships which brought out Colonel John Adlercron's Regiment we get a list of the names of the officers who sailed with the draft. Similarly, the names of such officers as did not elect to transfer to the Company's service in 1757 are available from the logs of the *Princess Augusta*, *Norfolk*, *Prince Henry*, *Elizabeth*, *Boscawen*, and *Warwick* which landed them at Kinsale and Cork in 1758. Most important of all, the names of probably all the officers who accompanied Clive to Bengal are on record. In no case does the name of Lieutenant John Pigott appear. From these facts one may well infer that the correspondent who was responsible for the insertion of the obituary notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine* may have been misled by Pigott's former connexion with H. M. 39th. The evidence provided by his appointment to 36th Foot in September, 1757, renders improbable his presence with the 39th in August of that year, when orders for the recall of the regiment reached Madras.

ALTHOUGH, as stated above, the Compton Chamberlayne registers contains no entry of the death of Captain Pigott, they do provide evidence regarding his marriage and the baptism of a son and two daughters. The former states that Capt. Pigott's children. "Banns of Marriage were legally published between Lieut. John Pigott and Jane Bennett, both living in this Parish of Compton-Chamberlayne, 25th Feb. 1764." In the village churchyard stands a M.I. commemorating three of his children :—"Robert Pigott, died 10 Dec. 1831, aged 64 [63 in the burial register] ; also of John Pigott, died 1 Jan. 1841, aged 73, twin sons of Captain Pigott of the Royal Invalids ; also Constance Maria King their sister, who died 21 Sept. 1837, aged 62." The latter, who was bapt. March 22, 1775 married Edmund King, of Swathling in the parish of North Stoneham, or July 2, 1819.

PIGOTT is not the only person, moreover, for whom death in, or survival of, the Black Hole has been wrongly claimed. One of the most unfortunate of these inaccuracies is that sponsored by William Round. the late Horace Round, probably the best known and most meticulously accurate genealogist of our day. The mistake occurs in the last work from his pen, published shortly after his death, and consists in the statement that his great-great-uncle, William Round, perished in the Black Hole. William Round, second son of William Round of Birch Hall, co. Essex, by Susanna, daughter of John Warner of Old Ford, co. Middlesex, was born in 1742. He was appointed a Writer for the Bengal Civil Service at the end of 1759; consequently he did not set foot in India until nearly four years had elapsed since the tragedy in Calcutta. In point of fact, as is well known, this young civil servant was one of the victims of the Patna massacre in October, 1763 (*B: P. P.* Vol. XLI, pp. 5-23).

WILLIAM HICKEY in his *Memoirs* (Vol. iii, p. 350) mentions the case of Major (afterwards Lieut.-General) George Russell, one of his boon companions, who, "although he had attained the rank of a field officer, knew nothing of military tactics, never having done a day's duty or relieved a guard." Although Russell's ignorance of his profession was due neither to idleness nor apathy but rather to his continued employment in appointments of a quasi-civilian nature—"He had acquired a very handsome fortune by building the Barrackpore barracks and other public edifices"—there is abundant evidence in published *Memoirs* and *Reminiscences* that the Company's officer of that period was not wont to take his duties in cantonments too seriously. Further confirmation of this state of affairs is forthcoming in a letter, still in the possession of his descendants, written by Charles Ware to his sister in England. The letter is undated, but from internal evidence it would appear to have been written c. 1770, when Ware was a junior Captain.

"INDIA is a place certainly better calculated for one who lives in a profuse manner than he who is fond of retirement, as there is but a scene of eating, drinking and rioting from the time we rise to the time of going to bed. I always thought the Officers in the King's Service spent their time in an idle manner, but find its nothing equal to what they do here, but then there is great allowances to be made for until these three years past they took into the Service the scum of all nations and advanced Serjeants to Officers who really don't know how to carry themselves without shewing the Point of their Halbert in the finest Coat that could be fitted to their Backs."

WARE was able to speak with authority as regards the manner in which King's officers employed their time, having held commissions in H. M. 85th and 84th Regts. before obtaining a cadetship for Bengal in 1765. As an Ensign in H. M. 84th he took part in the capture of Manila, Oct. 6, 1762. That he was a keen and zealous officer may be judged from the fact of his having been one of the very few who refused to join the mutinous association against Lord Clive's new Batta regulations by resigning his Ensign's commission in 1766. He rose eventually to the rank of Major-General and met a soldier's death on the field at Laswari, his head being carried off by a cannon-ball. Lord Lake, in his Despatch, published in a *Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary* dated Nov. 15, 1803, wrote thus of him: "He was a gallant Officer, and one whose loss I deeply lament."

THE admission registers of Lincoln's Inn record the name of de Boigne's son, Charles Alexandre, who was admitted to the Society on June 26, 1811. The entry runs as follows: "Bennet de Boigne, De Boigne's Son. of Bernard St., Russell Sq., Middx., Esq. (aged 19). I s. Bennet de B., of Portland Pl. (left the socy. by the name of Charles Bent [sic] de Boigne, 25 June, 1817)."

A QUERY as to Mr. Pattle's daughters and their marriages, published in the *Sunday Times* last September, evoked a large number of replies from descendants and others. No new facts regarding this subject of apparently perennial interest having emerged from this correspondence, and the matter having already been so thoroughly ventilated in these pages in the past, it is not proposed to enumerate the beautiful Miss Pattles here. One correspondent reminds us that much interesting information about these sisters may be found in the "Letters of the Hon. Mrs. Edward Twisleton" (John Murray) and a book by Virginia Woolf (a descendant of Mr. Pattle) and Roger Fry, of which a limited edition, printed at the Hogarth Press, was published in 1926. Virginia Woolf, the novelist, is a grand-daughter of John Jackson, M.D. (1804-1887), of Calcutta, and Maria Pattle his wife. Another letter stated that Eliza Susan Pattle, whose runaway marriage with Edward Gibbon Wakefield, the future colonial statesman, in August, 1816, created such a stir at the time—she being an heiress and a Ward of the Court—was a daughter of James Pattle. Mrs. Wakefield's father was Thomas Charles Pattle, of the China C.S., who was, in all probability, an elder brother of 'Jimmy Blazes.' The latter married Miss Sarah Hasleby; her sister Elizabeth married Charles Hutchinson Purling (1748-1791), Collector of Rangpur; and Ann Hasleby married Richard Becher (1721-1782).

THE name Wanostrocht in a recent obituary notice in *The Times* recalls the association with India of Nicholas Wanostrocht, the first member of the family to leave his native Belgium and settle in England, at some date before 1780, as a teacher of French. He kept a private school at Alfred House, Peckham Rd., Camberwell, and was author of a French grammar and other school books. Alfred House was a well-known school in its day and included amongst its pupils a number of future Indian Civilians in the pre-Haileybury era. Nicholas was assisted in the management by his nephew, Vincent Wanostrocht, who succeeded him on his death in 1812. The latter's son, Nicholas Wanostrocht, carried on the school at Camberwell, 1824-30, and subsequently at Blackheath for twenty-eight years. He is, however, best remembered for his prowess as a cricketer, playing under the name of Nicholas Felix. Both Nicholas and his great-nephew are noticed in the *D. N. B.*

ANOTHER private school of that period with a large Indian connexion was Cheam, which happily still flourishes and is probably the oldest private school in England, dating back to 1665, the year of the great Plague. It rose to prominence under three successive headmasters: Rev. Dr. William Gilpin, 1752-77; his son, Rev. William Gilpin, 1777-1806; and Rev. James Wilding, 1806-26.

The following letter from a correspondent appeared in the *Monthly Magazine* for 1811 (pt. ii, pp. 238-40):—

"Sir,—Ever anxious as you are to regard the interests of biography, and to afford it every encouragement and facility, and as this object cannot be better attained than by recording for the future biographer the present pursuits of youthful characters who may one day become subjects of the biographical pen, I shall make no apology for troubling you with an account of some of those gentlemen who were educated under the Rev. William Gilpin, head master of Cheam-school, till the year 1805-6, a school that has sent into the world some of the brightest stars in the political hemisphere, and the fame of which has been increasing for more than half a century. To avoid the appearance of partiality, the names are alphabetically arranged.

L. L."

Amongst the alumni specified the following names are of interest:

Stephen Hyde Cassan (1789-1841), son of William Hickey's friend
Stephen Cassan, the Calcutta barrister.

Henry Gould Starkie Croasdaile (1789-1847), Bt. Capt. 10th M. N. I.
A son of Capt. Allen Cooper, Comdr. of the *Brunswick* Indiaman.
James Farish (1791-1873), of the Bombay C. S., acting Govr. of Bombay,
1838-9.

The son of Maj.-Gen. William Gent (d. 1811), Madras Engineers.
Henry Lacon (1791-1864), of the Madras C. S.

"The son of the late Col. Meuron, of Madras."

The Hon. William Henry Leslie Melville (1788-1856), of the B. C. S., a Director of the E. I. Co., 1845-55.

Edward Smalley (1790-1873), of the Madras C. S.

Henry (1795-1834), Frederick (1798-1856), and Edward (1801-1821), all of the B. C. S., sons of George Millett, Director E. I. Co., 1806-13.

Thomas Thackeray (1789-1814), 4th son of "Sylhet Thackeray," who as a Lieut. of the 26th Bengal N. I. was killed in action at Jamptra during the Nepal war.

A NOTE by Sir Ambrose Heal on Soho Academy, another famous Anglo-Indian school under the headmastership of the Rev. Cuthbert Barwis, D.D., appeared in *Notes and Queries* of Oct. 19th last (clxix. 279-80).

SIR CHARLES ("Carlo") Stuart Bayley, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.S.O., who died in London on Sept. 19th last at the age of 81, was a member of a family prominent since the beginning of the nineteenth century for the eminence of its services in and for India. His great-grandfather, Thomas Butterworth Bayley, of Hope Hall, Lancs., was a first cousin of Robert, Lord Clive, who spent his boyhood with his maternal uncle, Daniel Bayley, at Manchester. Robert Clive, however, had already landed at Fort St. George as a writer three weeks before the birth of this cousin. Of the latter's sons, Charles (1780-1865), George Thornton (1790-1835), and William Butterworth (1781-1860), grandfather of Sir Charles, served in the Bengal C. S. William Butterworth Bayley, as mentioned elsewhere in this issue, married the youngest daughter of William Jackson, Registrar of the Supreme Court. Their sons included, Henry Vincent Bayley (1816-1873), Judge of the Calcutta High Court, who married Louisa Pattle; Captain Daniel Bayley, of the Bengal Cavalry, whose only son was Sir Charles; and Sir Steuart Colvin Bayley (1836-1925). Sir Edward Clive Bayley (1821-1884) and William Henry Bayley (1813-1890), both distinguished Civilians, were nephews of Thomas Butterworth Bayley.

IN the recently published *Torrington Diaries* the diarist records (Vol. II, p. 204) a visit which he paid in June, 1790, to the churchyard at Cheadle, Cheshire, wherein he 'found nothing to amuse [*sic*], except that Mr. Downes lately died a lieut. in the East Indies Company's service, aged 4 years.' The present Rector of Cheadle, on the matter being referred to him, has courteously furnished a transcription of the M. I., which runs as follows:

'In Memory of William Downes late of Cheadle, Lieutenant in the Service of the Hon. East India Company, who died May 20th 1789 in the 49th year of his age' etc.

This marks the last resting place of William Downes, a Bengal Cadet of 1781, who left India on three years' furlough on Oct. 3, 1786.

ALTHOUGH commissions in the King's Service were, at this period, occasionally granted to boys of twelve years of age, or even less, such was never the custom of the E. I. Co. ; and in para. 11 of their Letter of Sept. 21, 1785, the Court issued orders abolishing the practice which had sprung up in India of appointing the young sons of serving officers to 'Minor Cadetships.' As we learn from *Soldiering in India, 1764-87*, p. 8, Lt.-Col. Allan Macpherson solicited the Commander-in-Chief for a minor cadetship for his son William, aged only three months, which request was immediately granted. As these appointments, which were made only on the personal recommendation of a Member of Council, carried with them pay at the rate of Rs. 50 a month, certain senior officers must have received from this source a considerable augmentation of their income. We find that in May, 1786, when this concession was finally abolished, Colonel Samuel Hampton was drawing pay for six of his sons aged from eighteen months upwards, only three of whom subsequently entered H. E. I. C. military service. At the same date Colonel Arthur Auchmuty's five sons, ranging in age from 8 to 16, were minor cadets ; Major Thomas Whinyates had four sons (the youngest not yet three years of age) similarly favoured, and Majors William Hessman and James Nicol three each.

ON the Bombay Establishment at the same period the military authorities evidently believed in calling a spade a 'spade,' for sixteen lads, thirteen of whom were in England, are described unblushingly as 'Children' in a MS. Army List of August 1782.

ON July 28, 1784 (*Torrington Diaries*, Vol. I, p. 196) John Byng, later fifth Viscount Torrington, dined at Caversham Park and met its new owner, Major (Qy. *rectius* Captain) Charles Marsack for the first time. He was evidently agreeably surprised to find his host differ vastly from the traditional conception of a 'Nabob' then current in England, for he writes in his diary : "Tho return'd with a good fortune from the East, his manners are polite, and his character unimpeached ; nor tainted, as those gentry generally are, with false grandeur and o'erweaning pride."

JOHN BYNG himself could claim more than one link with the East Indies. Not only had his cousin-german Robert Byng been one of the victims of the Black Hole (B. : P. P. XLVII. 51), but his 5th Viscount Torrington. wife's brother, Arthur Forrest—about whom William Hickey has a good deal to tell us in the second volume of his *Memoirs*—died a Major of Engineers at Madras in 1802. Twelve years after his visit to Caversham Byng sent his third son John into the Madras C. S. He became judge and magistrate of the zillah of Trichinopoly, where he died Nov. 22, 1811 (Cotton).

IT is not without a sense of legitimate pride that the Calcutta Historical Society publishes the 100th issue of its Journal "Bengal—Past and Present". The Society and the Journal were founded in the year 1907 under the Presidency of Sir Francis McLean, K.C.I.E., then Chief Justice of Bengal. The aim of the Journal has been to serve as a medium for the publication of researches in the history of Bengal and Calcutta, devoted especially to the last 200 years. The hope that the work has not been without permanent value is supported by the numerous reference to our pages in historical publications covering this ground in recent years.

2. Among the contributors, whose work has enabled the Journal to attain such permanent value as it may possess, have been Rev. W. K. Firminger, the late Mr. J. J. Cotton, I.C.S., Sir Evan Cotton and Sir Jadunath Sarkar. From the time of his arrival in Calcutta in the year 1922 to take charge of the post of the President of the Bengal Legislative Council constituted under the Reforms Sir Evan (then Mr.) Cotton took an active interest in the affairs of the Society, and the revival of the Society's activities was due principally to the impetus derived from his personality. If the concentration on the minutiae of local history and biography which characterises the journal has operated to restrict its circulation to the limited number of those who take an active interest in the past of Calcutta and Bengal, it is a compensatory reflection that our hundred issues will remain permanently enshrined on the shelves of the few record rooms and libraries with a specialised interest in British India, and that materials so industriously collected and so rich in miscellaneous detail of personal and historical value, will not be lost.
